

II

PROPORTION OF FOREIGN STOCK IN THE NATIVE POPULATION

The population of the United States is exceedingly diverse in origin. This diversity exercises a profound influence upon many important features of the national life, such as cultural continuity, institutional integrity, and national solidarity. And, other things being equal, the greater the size of the foreign group the more serious will be the problems arising from the presence of dissimilar elements in the population. Consequently the quantitative relation of the immigrants and their children to the American population is of primary interest to the student of the immigrant problem.

In this connection two questions present themselves: First, to what extent does the present population of the United States represent descendants of the original colonial stock, and to what extent does it represent the various immigrant groups which have been arriving in this country since the end of the eighteenth century? Second, who among the present population are of native stock in the sense of being native of native parentage and who are foreign in the sense of being foreign born or native of foreign or mixed parentage?

1. DESCENDANTS OF COLONIAL STOCK AND OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN PRESENT POPULATION

An answer to the first question has been reached in another volume in this series of census monographs and need therefore be given only passing reference in this one.¹ According to Mr. Rossiter's computations, approximately 47,330,000 out of the 58,421,957 native whites of native parents represent "the contribution of the original stock to the population of the United States." This does not mean that all of these 47,330,000 persons were directly derived from the pre-Revolutionary population, but that there was in 1920 a group descended in varying degrees of purity from the original native stock, whose combined heredity represented the "numerical equivalent" of 47,330,000 pure-bred representatives of that stock.² On the basis

¹ Rossiter, William S.: *Increase of Population in the United States: 1910-1920*; Washington, 1922.

² Rossiter, William S., *op. cit.*, Ch. IX and Appendices A-F. Dr. Rufus S. Tucker, formerly of Harvard University, using the same method as Mr. Rossiter, but slightly different data, puts the descendants of the original stock at a somewhat smaller figure, namely, 45,100,000. (Doctor Tucker's computation is published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August, 1923.) By employing a different method Doctor Tucker obtains a maximum figure of 39,700,000.

of this calculation about 11,092,000 of the native whites of native parentage are the "numerical equivalent" of the descendants of persons immigrating to this country subsequently to the colonial period, who, with the 36,399,000 whites who are foreign born or the children of foreign parents, or of mixed native and foreign parentage, make up a total of about 47,491,000 who are in some sense foreign.

2. FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN PRESENT POPULATION

The answer to the second question is supplied by Tables 1 to 4, following:

TABLE 1.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE: 1850-1920

CLASS OF POPULATION	NUMBER							
	1920	1910	1900	1890				
Total population.....	105,710,620	91,972,266	75,994,375	62,947,714				
Native white, total.....	81,108,161	68,386,412	50,595,379	45,979,391				
Native parentage.....	58,421,957	49,488,575	40,949,362	34,475,716				
Foreign parentage.....	15,694,539	12,916,311	10,632,280	8,085,019				
Mixed parentage.....	6,991,665	5,981,526	5,013,737	3,418,656				
Foreign-born white.....	13,712,754	13,345,545	10,213,817	9,121,867				
All other ¹	10,889,705	10,240,309	9,185,379	7,846,456				
	1880	1870	1860	1850				
Total population.....	50,155,783	² 38,558,371	31,443,321	23,191,876				
Native white, total.....	36,843,291	³ 28,095,665	22,825,784	17,312,533				
Native parentage.....	³ 28,568,424	³ 22,771,397						
Foreign parentage.....	³ 6,363,769	³ 4,167,098						
Mixed parentage.....	³ 1,911,098	³ 1,157,170						
Foreign-born white.....	6,559,679	5,493,712	4,096,753	2,240,535				
All other ¹	6,752,813	4,968,094	4,520,784	3,638,808				
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION							
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860	1850
Total population.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Native white, total.....	76.7	74.4	74.5	73.0	73.5	72.9	72.6	74.6
Native parentage.....	55.3	53.8	53.9	54.8	57.0	59.1		
Foreign parentage.....	14.8	14.0	14.0	12.8	12.7	10.8		
Mixed parentage.....	6.6	6.5	6.6	5.4	3.8	3.0		
Foreign-born white.....	13.0	14.5	13.4	14.5	13.1	14.2	13.0	9.7
All other ¹	10.3	11.1	12.1	12.5	13.5	12.9	14.4	15.7

¹ Includes Negroes, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and all other nonwhite.

² Enumeration of 1870 is considered incomplete.

³ Partly estimated.

TABLE 2.—PROPORTION OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN TOTAL POPULATION AND IN TOTAL WHITE POPULATION, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1870-1920

YEAR	NUMBER				
	Total population	White population	Foreign white stock		
			Total	Foreign-born white	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage
1920.....	105,710,620	94,820,915	36,398,958	13,712,754	22,686,204
1910.....	91,972,266	81,731,957	32,243,382	13,345,545	18,897,837
1900.....	75,994,575	66,609,196	25,859,834	10,243,817	15,616,017
1890.....	62,947,714	55,101,258	20,625,542	9,121,867	11,503,675
1880.....	50,155,783	43,402,970	14,834,546	6,559,679	8,274,867
1870.....	38,558,371	33,589,377	10,817,980	6,493,712	4,324,268

YEAR	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION				PER CENT OF WHITE POPULATION			
	Total population	Foreign white stock			Total white	Foreign white stock		
		Total	Foreign-born white	Native white, foreign or mixed parentage		Total	Foreign-born white	Native white, foreign or mixed parentage
1920.....	100.0	34.4	13.0	21.5	100.0	38.4	14.5	23.9
1910.....	100.0	35.1	14.5	20.5	100.0	39.5	16.3	23.1
1900.....	100.0	34.0	13.4	20.6	100.0	38.7	15.3	23.4
1890.....	100.0	32.8	14.5	18.3	100.0	37.4	16.6	20.9
1880.....	100.0	29.6	13.1	16.5	100.0	34.2	15.1	19.1
1870.....	100.0	28.1	14.2	13.8	100.0	32.2	16.4	15.9

¹ Partly estimated.

TABLE 3.—NATIVE AND FOREIGN BORN IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1850-1920

YEAR	POPULATION			Number of foreign born per 100,000 native
	Total	Native	Foreign born	
1920.....	105,710,620	91,789,928	13,920,692	15,166
1910.....	91,972,266	78,456,380	13,515,886	17,227
1900.....	75,994,575	65,653,299	10,341,276	15,751
1890.....	62,947,714	53,698,154	9,249,560	17,225
1870.....	50,155,783	43,475,840	6,679,943	15,865
1860.....	39,818,449	34,251,220	5,567,229	16,254
1850.....	31,443,321	27,304,624	4,138,697	16,157
1840.....	23,191,876	20,947,274	2,244,602	10,715

¹ Estimated corrected figures on account of error in census of 1870.

TABLE 4.—POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CERTAIN OTHER COUNTRIES, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY

COUNTRY	Year	POPULATION			PER CENT DISTRIBUTION		
		Total	Native	Foreign born	Total	Native	Foreign born
United States.....	1920	105,710,620	91,780,928	13,929,692	100.0	86.8	13.2
England and Wales.....	1921	37,886,699	36,610,815	1,275,884	100.0	96.6	3.4
France.....	1921	39,209,518	37,659,059	1,550,459	100.0	96.0	4.0
Germany.....	1919	60,412,081	(²)	(²)	100.0		
Canada.....	1921	8,788,483	6,832,747	1,955,736	100.0	77.8	22.2
Argentina.....	1914	7,885,237	5,527,285	2,357,952	100.0	70.1	29.9
Brazil.....	1920	30,635,605	29,069,644	1,565,961	100.0	94.9	5.1
Chile.....	1920	3,751,723	3,638,960	112,763	100.0	96.9	3.1

¹ Of this number, only 328,641, or less than 1 per cent of total, born outside of British Empire.

² Not available. According to 1910 census, native born comprised 98.1 per cent of the total population and foreign born 1.9 per cent.

Analysis of these tables brings out four significant facts.

First, the mere bulk of the foreign white stock has increased tremendously. For example, Table 1 shows that the foreign-born white population has grown from slightly more than 2,240,000 in 1850 to upward of 13,700,000 in 1920, an increase of over 500 per cent in 70 years, while the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage have increased from about 5,324,000 in 1870 to more than 22,686,000 in 1920, a gain of over 325 per cent in 50 years. Table 2 reveals a similar rate of increase in the total foreign white stock in that period, the growth being from approximately 10,818,000 in 1870 to slightly under 36,399,000 in 1920.³

Second, the proportion of the foreign white stock, both in the total population and the total white population, has not varied significantly during the period under consideration.

Thus, Table 1 shows that the native white element has been about 73 per cent of the total population since 1850, exhibiting an extreme variation of only 4.1 per cent in that entire period. The same table shows that, excepting the year 1850, the foreign-born white have ranged from 13 per cent to 14.5 per cent, a variation of 1.5 per cent only.

Table 2 reveals a similar tendency in the foreign white stock, for between the years 1870 and 1920 it has ranged from 28.1 per cent to 35.1 per cent of the total population and from 32.2 per cent to 39.5 per cent of the total white population. Similar results may be obtained from Table 3, although its basis of computation differs from those preceding.⁴

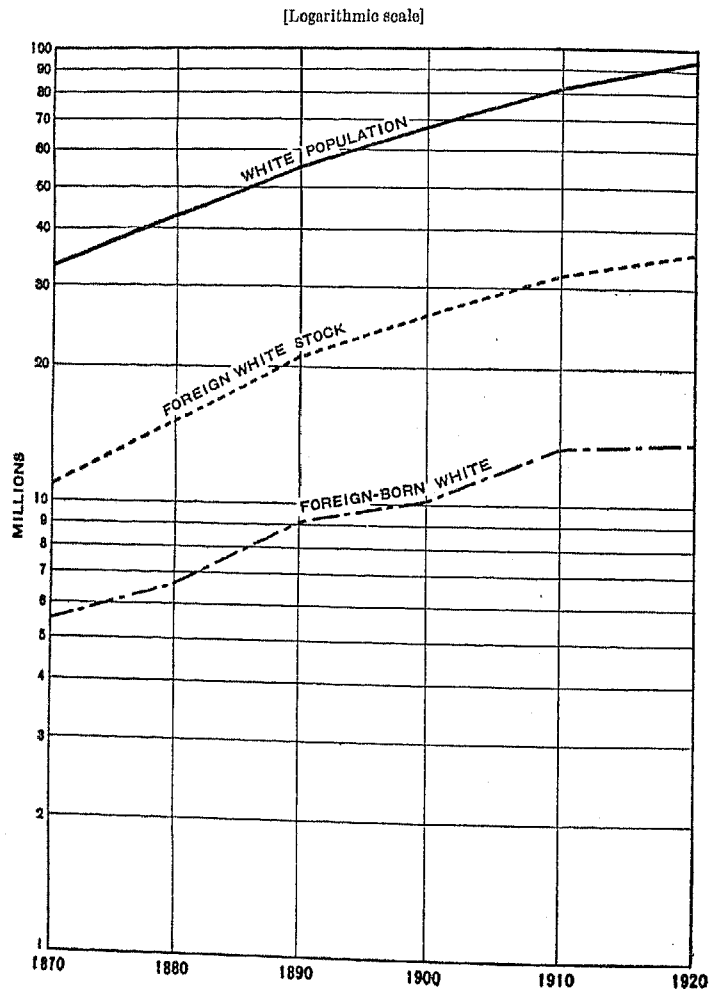
³ No separation of the native white population as to parentage was made prior to 1870.

⁴ The highest per cent and the highest ratio, it will be noted, were not in 1920, but in 1910.

It is therefore to be inferred that, notwithstanding the noteworthy numerical increase in the foreign element in this country, this increase has done little more than keep pace with a correspondingly rapid increase both of the total population and of the total white population. Hence, quantitatively at least, the immigration problem bulks no larger in relation to this country's population than it did 70 years ago.

This stability of the ratio of the foreign stock to the total population is expressed graphically in Chart 1.

CHART 1.—RATE OF GROWTH OF WHITE POPULATION, FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1870-1920



Third, in some respects, the proportionate size of the immigrant stock seems to be falling off slightly. For example, in Table 3 the number of foreign born per 100,000 natives is 15,166 in 1920, as against 17,227 in 1910, and 15,751 in 1900. Again, according to Table 1, the foreign-born white population dropped from 14.5 per cent of the total population in 1910 to 13 per cent in 1920, a figure lower than that recorded for any census since 1860. On the other hand, the accumulated effects of the birth rate dependent upon previous waves of immigration have caused the total foreign white stock to attain a steadily growing importance, relative both to the total population and the white population, right up through 1910. Nevertheless, Table 2 indicates that even this group has declined relatively between the years 1910 and 1920, from 35.1 per cent to 34.4 per cent of the total population, and from 39.5 per cent to 38.4 per cent of the white population.

This gradual diminution in the percentage of the first and second generation of the immigrant stock suggests many interesting possibilities. So far as concerns the decade 1910-1920, it is, as Mr. Rossiter⁵ points out, undoubtedly due mainly to the restricted immigration and accelerated reëmigration that accompanied the World War. There may, also, be other less obvious factors, such as the gradual exhaustion of free land in this country.

Fourth, the foreign-born element in the population of this country, while much larger, relative to the total population, than that in European countries, is, nevertheless, not such a large fraction of the whole as in certain other American nations.

Thus, Table 4 shows that the foreign born compose 13.2 per cent of the population of the United States as against 4 per cent for France, and 3.4 per cent for England and Wales. On the other hand, the corresponding figure for Canada is 22.2 per cent and for Argentine 29.9 per cent. The explanation for this situation is probably the one suggested above. In comparison with the old-world countries, the United States is new and sparsely settled, attracting a heavy immigration and showing, therefore, a high ratio of foreign population. It is, however, much more thickly settled than some of the more recently developed countries of the New World, so that they are probably now outstripping the United States in the relative volume of their immigration, and certainly exceed it in the relative size of their immigrant population. Not only is the immigrant problem not peculiar to this country, it is of even smaller proportions than in certain neighboring countries.⁶

⁵ Rossiter, William S., op. cit., p. 114.

⁶ See the writer's monograph on "Relative Population Densities and Immigration Policy," University of Buffalo Studies, Vol. IV, No. 1.

SUMMARY

In general, it appears that, so far as the importance of the immigration question can be *quantitatively* appraised, this country is in no very different situation than it has been for half a century. On the contrary, both the short-run effects of the World War and of restrictive legislation and the long-run effects of the increasing population of this country seem to be bringing about a slight decrease in the numerical importance of the immigrant and his children.

Moreover, despite the almost unprecedented immigration that this country has had to absorb since its formation, and despite the further fact that it has passed through a long, destructive Civil War, fought largely by descendants of the original stock, it appears that there are at the present time in this country representatives of that original colonial stock amounting to the "numerical equivalent" of upwards of 45,000,000, which is well over one-third of the total population. So long as this element maintains such a ratio to the total population—and the gradual diminution in immigration, together with the practically stationary character of the negro population, leaves little doubt but that it will do so—there is every reason to expect that a very large measure of continuity in racial type, cultural background, and traditional heritage is assured to future generations. In sum, quantitatively considered, "the immigrant invasion" is no more serious than it was two or three generations ago, and it offers no greater threat to American institutions now than it did then.

The qualitative aspects of the present as compared with past immigration are considered in later chapters.

III

TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN STOCK IN THE UNITED STATES

It is obvious that many of the most important phases of the immigration question are primarily local in their origin and bearing. To take one example among many, the relation of immigration to industry can be intelligently considered only in respect to particular localities; one industrial center may be situated in the midst of a large immigrant population, while another may tap a predominantly native population, making the results of the study of the first locality of no validity in connection with the second, and also limiting the value of conclusions based upon an averaging together of the two. Again, whole sections of the country may be differently affected by immigration. One region may have an immigrant population far in excess of the average for the country, while another shows an insignificant number of the foreign born. Hence, to the former region, all the various aspects of the immigration question may be of immensely greater importance than would appear merely from consideration of the country as a whole, while the latter may scarcely be aware of the existence of an immigration question.

In dealing with this topic of the distribution of the foreign stock four different questions at once suggest themselves: How is the foreign stock distributed among the different sections of the United States? How is the foreign stock distributed among the various local areas of the United States; e. g., urban and rural districts and the several classes of cities? How is the distribution of the foreign stock related to the characteristics of the various kinds of territory? What factors have determined this territorial distribution of the foreign stock?

1. GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN STOCK

A summary of the most important data bearing on the geographic distribution of foreign and native elements is presented in Tables 5 to 9. In Table 5 the percentage distribution of the various nativity classes is shown for the principal geographic divisions of the United States. Tables 6 and 7 show, respectively, the ranking of geographic divisions and of certain States according to their total population and their total foreign white stock. Table 8 carries back to 1850 the distribution of native and foreign born for the geographic divi-

sions, while Table 9 makes a similar comparison, running back to 1890, for the nativity classes of the white population. In Tables 135 to 137, Tables 5, 8, and 9 are expanded to show numbers and percentages for States as well as geographic divisions.

TABLE 5.—PER CENT OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN BORN AND OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	Total population	TOTAL POPULATION BY NATIVITY		WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE			
		Native	Foreign born	Native white of native parent-age	Foreign white stock		
					Total	Foreign-born white	Native white of foreign or mixed parent-age
United States.....	100.0	86.8	13.2	55.3	34.4	13.0	21.5
New England.....	100.0	74.5	25.5	37.9	61.0	25.3	35.7
Middle Atlantic.....	100.0	77.7	22.3	43.3	54.0	22.1	31.9
East North Central.....	100.0	84.0	15.1	54.9	42.6	15.0	27.6
West North Central.....	100.0	89.0	11.0	59.6	37.9	10.9	26.9
South Atlantic.....	100.0	97.6	2.4	92.8	6.2	2.3	4.0
East South Central.....	100.0	99.2	0.8	98.5	3.1	0.8	2.3
West South Central.....	100.0	95.5	4.5	98.0	11.3	4.5	6.8
Mountain.....	100.0	86.0	14.0	60.0	36.3	13.6	22.7
Pacific.....	100.0	79.7	20.3	61.9	44.3	18.6	25.7

Two sets of generalizations can be derived from these tables. The first relates to the absolute magnitude of the immigrant stock in the various regions. The second is concerned with the relative proportion of the foreign element in the total population.

One outstanding fact appears from the consideration of the first question, namely, absolute magnitude of the foreign born and their offspring. It is that there appears to be little relationship between the total population of a State or group of States and the magnitude of the foreign white stock in that State or group of States. This fact is clearly brought out in Tables 6, 7, and 135.

TABLE 6.—RANK OF GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS ACCORDING TO TOTAL POPULATION AND POPULATION OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	RANK ACCORDING TO—	
	Total population	Population of foreign white stock
New England.....	7	4
Middle Atlantic.....	1	1
East North Central.....	2	2
West North Central.....	4	3
South Atlantic.....	3	8
East South Central.....	6	9
West South Central.....	5	7
Mountain.....	9	6
Pacific.....	8	5

It is obvious from Table 6 that there is no correspondence between the total population and the magnitude of immigrant stock in the geographic divisions, excepting as regards the Middle Atlantic and East North Central groups, where the correspondence is probably due to other elements than those being considered here. It is clear, also, that the Southern States are largely responsible for this apparently anomalous situation. For example, in one series the South Atlantic States rank third and the East South Central sixth, while in the other they rank eighth and ninth, respectively.

A similar absence of significant relation is revealed by the comparison of the highest ranking States in the two series in Table 7. Thus, Ohio is fourth in population and sixth in foreign white stock, while Wisconsin and Minnesota, ranking, respectively, as ninth and tenth in foreign white stock, appear as thirteenth and seventeenth in total population.

As in Table 6, the Southern States appear here as partially responsible for the noncorrespondence of the two series, for inspection of Table 135 shows that, with the exception of Texas, the highest ranking Southern State according to foreign stock, namely, Maryland, is more than half way down the list according to total population, ranking twenty-eighth, while the next, Louisiana, is twenty-second.

TABLE 7.—FIRST 10 STATES ACCORDING TO TOTAL POPULATION AND POPULATION OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK: 1920

FIRST 10 STATES ACCORDING TO TOTAL POPULATION		FIRST 10 STATES ACCORDING TO FOREIGN WHITE STOCK		
State	Rank	State	Rank	Rank according to total population
New York.....	1	New York.....	1	1
Pennsylvania.....	2	Pennsylvania.....	2	2
Illinois.....	3	Illinois.....	3	3
Ohio.....	4	Massachusetts.....	4	6
Texas.....	5	Michigan.....	5	7
Massachusetts.....	6	Ohio.....	6	4
Michigan.....	7	New Jersey.....	7	10
California.....	8	California.....	8	8
Missouri.....	9	Wisconsin.....	9	13
New Jersey.....	10	Minnesota.....	10	17

Examination of the percentage distribution of the various nativity groups for geographic divisions and States and over a period of years shows, first, a most uneven distribution of the foreign stock over the various parts of the country; secondly, a steady and profound shifting in the relative importance of the population of foreign origin in the various sections of the United States; thirdly, an apparent inertia of the second generation of the foreign stock.

TABLE 8.—PER CENT OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN BORN IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1850-1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	PER CENT NATIVE							
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860	1850
United States.....	86.8	85.3	80.4	55.3	80.7	85.6	80.8	90.3
New England.....	74.5	72.1	74.2	75.7	80.2	81.4	85.0	88.8
Middle Atlantic.....	77.7	74.9	78.5	78.4	80.7	78.7	79.2	82.7
East North Central.....	84.9	83.2	83.6	81.4	82.9	81.8	82.7	87.8
West North Central.....	89.0	86.1	85.2	82.7	83.8	82.6	84.0	88.7
South Atlantic.....	97.6	97.5	97.9	97.6	97.7	97.1	97.0	97.8
East South Central.....	99.2	99.0	98.8	98.4	98.3	97.6	97.5	98.5
West South Central.....	95.5	95.0	95.9	95.4	94.6	93.6	92.7	90.7
Mountain.....	88.0	82.8	82.0	78.8	75.4	72.4	86.2	94.2
Pacific.....	73.7	77.2	77.5	72.8	69.6	66.5	65.1	78.4

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	PER CENT FOREIGN BORN							
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860	1850
United States.....	13.2	14.7	13.6	14.7	13.3	14.4	13.2	9.7
New England.....	25.5	27.9	25.8	24.3	19.8	18.6	15.0	11.2
Middle Atlantic.....	22.3	25.1	21.5	21.6	19.3	21.3	20.8	17.3
East North Central.....	15.1	16.8	16.4	18.6	17.1	18.2	17.3	12.2
West North Central.....	11.0	13.9	14.8	17.3	16.2	17.4	10.0	11.3
South Atlantic.....	2.4	2.5	2.1	2.4	2.3	2.9	3.0	2.2
East South Central.....	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.6	1.7	2.4	2.6	1.5
West South Central.....	4.5	4.0	4.1	4.6	5.4	6.4	7.8	9.3
Mountain.....	14.0	17.2	18.0	21.2	24.6	27.6	13.8	5.8
Pacific.....	26.3	22.8	22.5	27.2	30.4	33.5	34.9	21.6

TABLE 9.—PER CENT OF NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, FOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1890-1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION							
	Native white of native parentage				Total foreign white stock			
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1920	1910	1900	1890
United States.....	55.3	53.8	53.9	54.8	34.4	35.1	34.0	32.8
New England.....	37.9	39.9	44.9	51.8	61.0	59.0	53.9	47.2
Middle Atlantic.....	43.3	45.8	47.9	50.8	54.0	53.9	49.9	47.3
East North Central.....	54.9	53.4	53.1	53.9	42.6	44.8	45.2	44.4
West North Central.....	59.6	59.1	64.7	65.8	37.9	41.5	42.6	41.2
South Atlantic.....	62.8	60.2	64.7	67.2	3.2	6.0	5.7	5.9
East South Central.....	68.5	64.8	62.6	62.3	3.1	3.6	4.2	4.6
West South Central.....	68.0	65.7	61.7	58.4	11.3	10.9	11.4	11.1
Mountain.....	60.0	55.7	61.1	49.6	36.3	40.0	43.3	42.5
Pacific.....	61.9	50.3	48.2	47.0	44.3	45.7	45.7	45.9

TABLE 9.—PER CENT OF NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, FOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1890-1920—Continued

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION							
	Foreign-born white				Native white of foreign or mixed parentage			
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1920	1910	1900	1890
United States.....	13.0	14.5	13.4	14.5	21.5	20.5	20.6	18.3
New England.....	25.3	27.7	26.7	24.2	35.7	31.3	28.2	23.0
Middle Atlantic.....	22.1	25.0	21.4	21.5	31.9	28.9	28.5	25.8
East North Central.....	15.0	16.8	16.4	18.6	27.6	28.0	28.8	25.8
West North Central.....	10.9	13.9	14.8	17.3	26.9	27.6	27.8	23.8
South Atlantic.....	2.3	2.4	2.0	2.3	4.0	3.6	3.7	3.6
East South Central.....	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.6	2.3	2.6	3.0	3.1
West South Central.....	4.5	4.0	4.0	4.6	6.8	6.9	7.3	6.5
Mountain.....	13.6	16.6	17.2	20.2	22.7	23.4	26.1	22.3
Pacific.....	18.6	20.5	19.6	22.6	25.7	25.1	27.1	23.3

The *first* feature, namely, the irregular distribution of the immigrants and their children among the other population elements, is made manifest by Tables 5 and 135. The percentage of foreign born in the total population ranges all the way from 0.8 per cent in the East South Central States to 25.5 per cent in the New England States. The individual States show an even wider divergence, namely, from 29 per cent for Rhode Island to 0.3 per cent for North Carolina. When the total foreign white stock is compared with the total population, a similar situation is seen to exist. In New England the foreign white stock is 61 per cent of the total population, but in the East South Central region it is only 3.1 per cent, while in Rhode Island this class appears to be 69.6 per cent of the total population, but in North Carolina attains only to seven-tenths of 1 per cent.

Moreover, as already indicated, this uneven distribution of the foreign born and natives of foreign or mixed parentage shows certain pretty clearly defined tendencies. In the Northeast there is a large accumulation of immigrant stock; in the South and Southwest this element assumes almost negligible proportions. Between these two extremes stand the Middle West and the far West, the latter slightly in the lead. These relationships are clearly brought out in Table 10.

TABLE 10.—GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS ARRANGED
ACCORDING TO PER CENT OF FOREIGN BORN
AND OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN TOTAL POPU-
LATION: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	Per cent of foreign born in total popula- tion	Per cent of foreign white stock in total popu- lation
THE NORTHEAST:		
New England.....	25.5	61.0
Middle Atlantic.....	22.3	54.0
THE FAR WEST:		
Pacific.....	20.3	44.3
Mountain.....	14.0	36.3
THE MIDDLE WEST:		
East North Central.....	15.1	42.6
West North Central.....	11.0	37.9
THE SOUTHWEST:		
West South Central.....	4.5	11.3
THE SOUTH:		
South Atlantic.....	2.4	6.2
East South Central.....	0.8	3.1

As will be seen later in this chapter, especial significance attaches to the fact that similar, though not identical, results are obtained, whether the total population or the total white population is taken as the basis of comparison.

The *second* tendency in the distribution of the foreign white stock that is suggested by these data is the steady shifting of its geographical center of gravity. It appears that such a change has been going on during the entire period under consideration. For example, Table 8 shows that, in 1850, the Pacific States were most heavily occupied by immigrants when they contained not less than 21.6 per cent foreign born in their population, while the New England States, with 11.2 per cent foreign born, showed only a moderate foreign settlement. In 1920 a totally different situation is presented. New England leads the country, with 25.5 per cent of her population foreign born, while the Pacific States, with 20.3 per cent, rank third. Moreover, wide fluctuations appear within the geographic divisions, as in the case of the Mountain States, whose foreign born made up a bare 5.8 per cent of the total population in 1850, rose to 27.6 per cent in 1870, and dropped back to 14 per cent in 1920. Similar tendencies in the proportion of foreign white stock to total population are indicated in Table 9, but, as a briefer span of years is represented, a narrower fluctuation is revealed.

It is impossible to trace with much detail the course taken by this fluctuation in the proportion of the foreign white stock in the various regions. Nevertheless, certain tendencies that can be traced in the data are brought out in Table 11

TABLE 11.—RANK OF GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS ACCORDING TO PER CENT OF FOREIGN BORN AND OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN TOTAL POPULATION: 1850-1920

Rank	RANK ACCORDING TO PER CENT OF FOREIGN BORN IN TOTAL POPULATION			
	1920	1910	1900	1890
1	New England	New England	New England	Pacific
2	Middle Atlantic	Middle Atlantic	Pacific	New England
3	Pacific	Pacific	Middle Atlantic	Middle Atlantic
4	East North Central	Mountain	Mountain	Mountain
5	Mountain	East North Central	East North Central	East North Central
6	West North Central	West North Central	West North Central	West North Central
7	West South Central	West South Central	West South Central	West South Central
8	South Atlantic	South Atlantic	South Atlantic	South Atlantic
9	East South Central	East South Central	East South Central	East South Central
Rank	RANK ACCORDING TO PER CENT OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN TOTAL POPULATION			
	1920	1910	1900	1890
1	Pacific	Pacific	Pacific	Pacific
2	Mountain	Mountain	Middle Atlantic	Middle Atlantic
3	New England	Middle Atlantic	East North Central	East North Central
4	Middle Atlantic	New England	West North Central	West North Central
5	East North Central	East North Central	New England	New England
6	West North Central	West North Central	Mountain	West South Central
7	West South Central	West South Central	West South Central	Mountain
8	South Atlantic	South Atlantic	South Atlantic	South Atlantic
9	East South Central	East South Central	East South Central	East South Central

Two features stand out clearly. The first is the early prominence and the recent decline of the far Western States in respect to their proportion of foreign population. The second is the consistently high percentage of foreign elements in the Middle Atlantic States and, in recent years, in the New England States. It may further be noted that the Southern States bring up the rear throughout the whole period of comparison, while the Middle West has occupied a median position, losing ground somewhat from 1870 to 1900, but gaining from 1900 to 1920.¹

As shown at the conclusion of this chapter, any complete and satisfactory tracing of the causative factors behind the phenomena suggested by this table is at present impossible. Nevertheless, it is possible tentatively to sketch the broader outlines of what has taken place. First of all, the uniformly high ratio of immigrant stock in the Middle Atlantic States is probably due to two factors—the

¹ The reader may find it convenient to draw a light pencil line around one or another geographic division throughout the table, the more easily to follow the upward or downward course of that division.

presence of such important ports of entry as New York and Philadelphia in these States and the rapid industrial and urban expansion which they have undergone throughout the period under consideration. The second of these factors, namely, industrialization accompanied by urbanization, probably accounts also for the steady increase of foreign elements in New England.

The situation is more complex in the far West. Undoubtedly the mining history of that region has played an important part in the ebb and flow of immigrant stock. Thus, it is likely that the early predominance of the Pacific States in this respect is due in large measure to the "gold rush" to California during 1849 and the years following; likewise the development of silver mines in Nevada, Colorado, and Utah, and of copper mines in Arizona may explain the growth a little later of the foreign population in the Mountain States; while the decline in silver mining toward the end of the nineteenth century is probably responsible for the subsequent falling off of this element in this same group of States. An additional factor that may have contributed to the increase of the foreign born in the Mountain States is the systematic colonization of the State of Utah by the Mormon Church during the seventies and eighties. It will be noted that Table 136 shows this State to have reached the peak in this respect in 1870, when such activities of the Mormon Church were at their height. Moreover, both the Mountain and Pacific States have undoubtedly been influenced by oriental immigration, especially before the enactment of restrictive legislation in 1882 and 1888; yet there is danger of overestimating this factor, as the second part of Table 11 shows these divisions to contain a large element of foreign *white* stock for as long a period as data are available. It is likely that Mexican immigration into the region² and southern European immigration into certain irrigated sections account for much of this foreign white population.³ Finally, it must not be forgotten that San Francisco is an important seaport, and that immigrants would tend naturally to congregate near it.

In the Middle West it seems that there has been a steady settlement of foreign peoples throughout the period under consideration. The slight decline and subsequent rise in importance of the immigrant element in this area probably mark the completion of the original occupation of its public lands, on the one hand, and the more recent industrial development of certain of its States, on the other. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that it is the East North Central States, in which the greater degree of industrialization and

² Thus, Table 12, p. 49, of Vol. III of the Fourteenth Census shows that out of 478,383 white persons in the United States reported as born in Mexico, 184,115 were in the Mountain and Pacific groups, while Table 6, p. 77, of the same volume shows that 77.2 per cent of the foreign-born white in the State of Arizona were born in Mexico. Cf. also, *infra*, Ch. V, Tables 59 and 60, and Maps 6 and 13.

³ It must not be forgotten that Mexican population, though containing large Indian elements, is predominantly "white" so far as the census enumeration is concerned. Cf. footnote 4, p. 3.

urbanization has taken place, that have begun to recover their lost ground.

In the South it is likely that the presence of a large negro population has been the most effective influence in discouraging immigration, as Table 25 and the text accompanying it suggest.

The population changes in the several States, as presented in Tables 136 and 137, show many interesting phenomena. For example, Michigan and Wisconsin, though both in the same geographic division, show opposite tendencies. Wisconsin's foreign-born population was 36.2 per cent of the total in 1850, but has steadily dropped in importance until in 1920 it is only 17.5 per cent. On the other hand, in Michigan, the foreign-born population was only 13.8 per cent of the total in 1850, but rose to 26 per cent in 1890, and remains at the fairly high level of 19.9 per cent in 1920. The Wisconsin data probably reflect the large influx of Germans in the middle of the last century and the subsequent slowing up of their migration as well as deaths among them. Michigan, on the other hand, having been settled somewhat earlier, contained relatively few foreigners in 1850. The subsequent development of lumbering and mining, and later of furniture and automobile manufacture, appears, however, to have attracted a considerable foreign element since about 1870.

Similar comparisons could profitably be made for other States, but they would go outside the limits of this monograph.⁴

The *third* deduction to be derived from this set of data is the relative inertia of the second generation of the foreign stock, as shown by the close correspondence in the various regions between the proportion of foreign-born white and of native white of foreign or mixed parentage to the total population.

Tables 12 and 13 show that, as regards both absolute and relative magnitude, the ranking of the geographic divisions in respect to their foreign-born white population is very similar to that in respect to their native-born white population of foreign or mixed parentage. Both the immigrants and their children appear to be thickly settled in the North, East, and far West and sparsely settled in the South and Southwest. There is no evidence that the sons and daughters of the immigrants push very far beyond the regions into which their parents have come.

Moreover, in so far as there is an absence of correspondence between the density, or ratio of population to area, of foreign born and native born of foreign or mixed parentage, it seems to indicate a movement toward those areas adjacent to those most thickly settled by the foreign born. In other words, so far as may be inferred from this material, the immigrants' children remain in the same section of the country as their parents, or one adjoining it.

⁴ The writer is indebted to Prof. A. P. Usher and Prof. F. Merk, of Harvard University, and Prof. Horace Eschert, of Northwestern University, for valuable suggestions in this portion of the monograph.

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Moreover, in so far as there is an absence of correspondence between the density, or ratio of population to area, of foreign born and native born of foreign or mixed parentage, it seems to indicate a movement toward those areas adjacent to those most thickly settled by the foreign born. In other words, so far as may be inferred from this material, the immigrants' children remain in the same section of the country as their parents, or one adjoining it.

⁴ The writer is indebted to Prof. A. P. Usher and Prof. F. Merk, of Harvard University, and Prof. Horace Secrist, of Northwestern University, for valuable suggestions in this portion of the monograph.

This phenomenon is probably due, at least in part, to the unwillingness of the members of the various immigrant stocks to remove very far from the regions where relatives, acquaintances, or other representatives of their ethnic type are located. In so far as this is the case, it constitutes a manifestation of the general principle of *ethnic cohesion* that is discussed later in this monograph.⁵

TABLE 12. — RANK OF GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS ACCORDING TO MAGNITUDE OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK AND ITS COMPONENT ELEMENTS: 1920

RANK 1920	RANK ACCORDING TO —		
	Foreign white stock	Foreign-born white	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage
1	Middle Atlantic	Middle Atlantic	Middle Atlantic
2	East North Central	East North Central	East North Central
3	West North Central	New England	West North Central
4	New England	West North Central	New England
5	Pacific	Pacific	Pacific
6	Mountain	West South Central	Mountain
7	West South Central	Mountain	West South Central
8	South Atlantic	South Atlantic	South Atlantic
9	East South Central	East South Central	East South Central

TABLE 13. — RANK OF GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS ACCORDING TO PER CENT OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK AND ITS COMPONENT ELEMENTS IN TOTAL POPULATION: 1920

RANK 1920	RANK ACCORDING TO PER CENT OF —		
	Foreign white stock	Foreign-born white	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage
1	New England	New England	New England
2	Middle Atlantic	Middle Atlantic	Middle Atlantic
3	Pacific	Pacific	East North Central
4	East North Central	East North Central	West North Central
5	West North Central	Mountain	Pacific
6	Mountain	West North Central	Mountain
7	West South Central	West South Central	West South Central
8	South Atlantic	South Atlantic	South Atlantic
9	East South Central	East South Central	East South Central

Before concluding this section it may be well to call attention again to a point raised at the beginning of this chapter, namely, the way in which the unequal distribution of the foreign population throughout the country leads to a variation in the intensity of the several problems arising out of immigration. The data contained in this section bring out this fact strikingly.

⁵ Cf. *infra*, Ch. V, pp. 142 ff.

Thus, on the average, 6 out of every 10 persons in New England are immigrants or their children, and, in the State of Rhode Island, about 7 out of every 10 inhabitants are of this class. In strong contrast stand the Southern States, with the immigrants and their children making up only 3 in 100 in the East South Central group, and 6 in 100 in the South Atlantic group. It is obvious that the immigrant question affects the two regions very differently. In the former, such problems as "Americanization," naturalization, division of loyalties, and discontinuity of tradition must tax to the limit the assimilative capacities of the population concerned. On the other hand, the relatively few foreign born found in the South are probably absorbed rapidly and easily by the overwhelming majority of native Americans.

One further observation should be made in this connection. It must never be forgotten that *only the immigrant and his children* are counted as foreign white stock in this study. Consequently, the New England States and—in only slighter degree—the Middle Atlantic States undoubtedly are faced with the necessity of absorbing an even larger infusion of foreign elements than these data suggest, since some traces of foreign language, allegiance, and point of view will usually be found in the third-generation immigrant.

2. URBAN AND RURAL DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN STOCK

It is clear from the foregoing that examination of the territorial distribution of the immigrant elements on the basis merely of the geographic units of the country leaves very much to be conjectured, for the character of the area covered in each region shows the widest variation. It is therefore necessary to analyze the dispersion of the immigrant population with reference to the type as well as the location of the territory in which it is found.

Perhaps the most obvious means of differentiating various regions is their classification as "urban" and "rural" areas.⁶ Furthermore, one of the most striking features concerning the distribution of the immigrant stock is associated with this same distinction between urban and nonurban territory.

Tables 14, 15, and 16 show the situation regarding the distribution of the foreign stock in urban and rural areas in 1920, while Tables 17, 18, and 19 compare this situation with previous census years.

The first group of tables points to three significant conclusions, namely, the preponderance of the foreign stock in urban areas; the slight disparity between first and second generation foreigners, as

⁶ As defined by the census, urban territory includes all incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more, and, in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, all towns of that size; all other territory is classed as rural. It should be noted that this classification puts under the same heading fairly densely populated towns and villages and sparsely populated open country. In other words, the "rural" areas under this basis of comparison are not uniformly of the character that their name implies.

between urban and rural areas; and the approximate correspondence between the size of an urban area and the percentage of foreign stock within it.

TABLE 14.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, FOR URBAN AND RURAL AREAS: 1920

CLASS OF POPULATION	NUMBER		PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION		PER CENT DISTRIBUTION	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Total population.....	54,304,603	51,408,017	51.4	48.6	100.0	100.0
White.....	50,620,084	44,200,831	53.4	46.6	93.2	86.0
Native white of native parentage.....	24,556,729	33,865,228	42.0	58.0	45.2	65.9
Foreign white stock.....	26,063,355	10,335,603	71.0	28.4	48.0	20.1
Foreign-born white.....	10,356,983	3,355,771	75.5	24.5	19.1	6.5
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage.....	15,706,372	6,979,832	69.2	30.8	28.9	13.6

The *first* of these generalizations is based chiefly upon Table 14, which shows that 71.6 per cent of the entire foreign white stock is in urban communities, and, further, that this population group is 48 per cent of the total population in such communities as against only 20.1 per cent in the rural areas. It is clear that—at least in the present generation—the immigrant is settled most heavily in the cities.

It is true that, in one sense, the figures for urban and rural areas are not strictly comparable, for the rural population contains only 86 per cent white persons as compared with 93.2 per cent for the urban population. Nevertheless, even if only the white population were considered, the immigrant stock would still be of far greater relative importance in the city than in the country.

The *second* deduction is not quite so obvious. There is, in one sense, a correspondence between the proportion of both first and second generation foreigners in urban and rural areas, inasmuch as both are more numerous in the cities than in the country. Nevertheless, closer examination of the data brings out a disparity—slight, but well-marked—between the two component elements of the foreign white stock. Thus, only 24.5 per cent of the foreign-born white are resident in rural regions, whereas 30.8 per cent of the native born of foreign or mixed parentage are to be found there.

Until additional data can be brought to bear on this point, the cause for this disparity must rest on conjecture. It is probably due mainly to the presence, in the rural areas, of sons and daughters of an earlier generation of immigrants who settled on the land more numerous than is the case at present, but may be due also, to the moving out from city to country of sons and daughters of later immigrants.

The *third* characteristic of the urban and rural distribution of the immigrant stock is the rough correspondence between the size of an urban area and the density of its immigrant population. This relation is brought out in Tables 15 and 16.

TABLE 15.—NUMBER AND PER CENT OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, FOR DIFFERENT CLASSES OF URBAN COMMUNITIES: 1920

CLASS OF POPULATION	POPULATION IN PLACES OF—			
	2,500 to 25,000		25,000 to 100,000	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total population.....	16,534,489	100.0	10,340,788	100.0
White.....	15,353,913	92.9	9,594,234	92.8
Native white of native parentage.....	9,602,088	58.1	5,102,250	49.3
Foreign white stock.....	5,751,825	34.8	4,491,984	43.4
Foreign-born white.....	2,065,482	12.5	1,746,599	16.9
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage.....	3,686,343	22.3	2,745,385	26.5

CLASS OF POPULATION	POPULATION IN PLACES OF—			
	100,000 to 500,000		500,000 and over	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total population.....	11,060,025	100.0	16,369,301	100.0
White.....	10,073,615	91.1	15,598,322	95.3
Native white of native parentage.....	5,056,685	45.7	4,795,706	29.3
Foreign white stock.....	5,016,930	45.4	10,802,616	66.0
Foreign-born white.....	1,900,989	17.2	4,048,913	28.4
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage.....	3,115,941	28.2	6,753,703	37.6

When the several urban areas are grouped according to size, it appears that, in general, the larger the city, the greater the relative number of immigrants and their children within it. Thus, the population of cities of from 2,500 to 25,000 contains 34.8 per cent of foreign white stock; that of cities of from 25,000 to 100,000 contains 43.4 per cent; that of cities of from 100,000 to 500,000 contains 45.4 per cent; while that of cities of 500,000 and over contains 66 per cent. From this it would seem that the immigrant not only prefers the city to the country, but also the large city, and the larger the better.

Table 16 shows, however, that the case is not so simple; for, when the 25 principal cities of the country are arrayed according to size, there is no clear correlation with the percentage of either foreign born or native born of foreign or mixed parentage. Thus, Seattle, which ranks twentieth according to population, is eighth according to percentage of foreign born, and fifteenth according to percentage of foreign white stock. Again, Boston, which ranks seventh according to population, is second according to percentage both of foreign born

and of foreign white stock. It is apparent that the more general geographic and economic factors described in the preceding section act as alternative distributing agencies. It may, indeed, be that the largest cities happen to be in the regions in which, for other reasons, the immigrants congregate.

Nevertheless, it remains true that, whatever causative factors are at work, the largest cities tend to draw the largest proportions of immigrants. The bearing of this fact upon the problems associated with the political and social life of large cities is so obvious as not to require further elucidation.

TABLE 16.—PER CENT OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR 25 PRINCIPAL CITIES: 1920

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION BY NATIVITY		WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE			
	Native	Foreign born	Native white of native parentage	Foreign white stock		
				Total	Foreign-born white	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage
New York, N. Y.	63.9	36.1	20.7	76.4	35.4	41.0
Chicago, Ill.	70.1	29.9	23.8	72.0	29.8	42.2
Philadelphia, Pa.	78.0	22.0	38.3	54.2	21.8	32.4
Detroit, Mich.	70.7	29.3	31.6	64.2	20.1	35.1
Cleveland, Ohio	69.9	30.1	26.6	69.0	30.1	38.9
St. Louis, Mo.	86.6	13.4	46.5	44.4	13.4	31.0
Boston, Mass.	67.6	32.4	24.3	73.3	31.9	41.4
Baltimore, Md.	88.4	11.6	51.6	33.0	11.4	22.2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	79.5	20.5	36.8	56.7	20.4	36.3
Los Angeles, Calif.	78.8	21.2	51.1	43.8	19.4	24.3
Buffalo, N. Y.	78.0	24.0	32.6	66.5	24.0	42.5
San Francisco, Calif.	70.6	29.4	33.0	63.7	27.7	36.0
Milwaukee, Wis.	73.9	24.1	28.6	70.9	24.1	46.8
Washington, D. C.	93.3	6.7	54.7	20.0	6.5	13.4
Newark, N. J.	71.6	28.4	27.4	68.5	28.2	40.2
Cincinnati, Ohio	82.3	10.7	51.5	41.0	10.7	30.3
New Orleans, La.	92.9	7.1	49.2	24.6	6.7	17.9
Minneapolis, Minn.	78.8	28.2	35.0	63.0	23.1	40.8
Kansas City, Mo.	91.5	8.5	64.5	26.0	8.4	17.6
Seattle, Wash.	74.3	25.7	44.3	51.7	23.4	28.2
Indianapolis, Ind.	94.5	5.4	69.8	10.1	5.4	13.7
Jersey City, N. J.	74.4	25.6	29.2	68.1	25.5	42.6
Rochester, N. Y.	75.9	24.1	37.9	61.6	24.1	37.5
Portland, Oreg.	80.7	19.3	52.7	45.2	18.2	27.0
Denver, Colo.	85.1	14.9	56.4	40.9	14.7	26.3

The second group of tables, namely, those making a chronological comparison of the proportions of native and foreign population, brings out two tendencies. First, there is no sign of a general increase in the importance of immigrant stock in urban areas. Second, in the 25 principal cities, there has been a marked *decrease* in the proportion of the foreign-born white population, accompanied by a notable *increase* in the proportion of native white of foreign or mixed parentage.

TABLE 17.—PER CENT OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES: 1920, 1910, AND 1900

CLASS OF POPULATION	URBAN			RURAL		
	1920	1910	1900	1920	1910	1900
Total population.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White.....	93.2	93.4	93.2	86.0	85.0	84.4
Native white of native parentage.....	45.2	41.8	40.0	65.9	64.0	63.1
Foreign white stock.....	48.0	51.6	53.2	20.1	21.1	21.3
Foreign-born white.....	19.1	22.6	22.2	6.5	7.7	7.6
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage.....	28.9	29.0	31.0	13.6	13.4	13.7

Table 17 brings out the first of these two points. Between 1900 and 1920 the foreign white stock has declined from 53.2 per cent to 48 per cent of the total urban population, a considerably heavier decline, be it noted, than that shown for the rural sections, namely, from 21.3 per cent to 20.1 per cent. Further analysis of the table shows that this decrease has characterized both the foreign born and the natives of foreign or mixed parentage. It is true that the comparison runs back over a relatively short period,⁷ and, to the extent that this is so, this generalization is of limited significance. The fact, however, that Table 18 shows an analogous decrease of the foreign born in the 25 principal cities over an even longer period, 1860-1920, seems to justify the inference that, for a considerable period, there has been at least no increase in the per cent of foreign stock residing in urban areas, and probably a decrease.

The second generalization concerns the foreign stock in the 25 largest cities of the United States.

As just pointed out, Table 18 shows clearly that there has been a steady and general decrease in the proportion of foreign born in the principal cities of the country since 1860. Furthermore, as stated above, it is at least probable that this same decrease has occurred in the urban districts as a whole. It should be observed, however, that this decrease has not taken place at a uniform rate. For example, the foreign born in New Orleans have declined from 38.3 per cent in 1860 to 7.1 per cent in 1920, while in Boston they have decreased only from 35.9 per cent in 1860 to 32.4 per cent in 1920. There does not appear to be any general principle behind this unequal shrinkage of the urban foreign born, although a possible one is suggested by the fact noted above that there seems to be at the present time a greater accumulation of foreign born in the seacoast cities of the East and North than elsewhere.

⁷ Approximately comparable figures for 1890 indicate a similar tendency between 1890 and 1900. See Thirteenth Census Reports (1910), Vol. I, p. 184.

TABLE 18.—PER CENT OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN BORN IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR 25 PRINCIPAL CITIES: 1860-1920

CITY	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION NATIVE						
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860
New York, N. Y.	63.9	60.2	63.0	61.2	63.0	57.9	54.5
Chicago, Ill.	70.1	64.1	65.4	59.0	59.3	51.6	50.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	78.0	75.2	77.2	74.2	75.9	72.8	70.0
Detroit, Mich.	70.7	66.2	66.2	60.3	60.8	55.5	53.2
Cleveland, Ohio	69.9	65.0	67.4	62.8	62.9	58.2	55.2
St. Louis, Mo.	86.6	81.0	80.6	74.6	70.0	63.9	40.2
Boston, Mass.	67.6	63.7	64.9	64.7	68.4	64.9	64.1
Baltimore, Md.	88.4	80.1	80.5	84.1	83.1	78.9	75.3
Pittsburgh, Pa.	79.5	73.6	74.5	71.1	72.8	69.0	65.3
Los Angeles, Calif.	78.8	79.3	80.5	74.7	71.3	65.0	-----
Buffalo, N. Y.	76.0	72.0	70.4	65.0	67.0	60.7	53.0
San Francisco, Calif.	70.6	65.9	65.9	57.6	55.4	50.7	49.9
Milwaukee, Wis.	75.9	70.2	68.8	61.1	60.1	52.7	49.5
Washington, D. C.	93.3	92.5	92.8	91.9	90.4	87.4	82.4
Newark, N. J.	71.6	68.1	71.0	69.4	70.5	65.8	63.0
Cincinnati, Ohio	89.3	84.4	82.2	75.9	71.9	63.2	54.3
New Orleans, La.	92.9	81.6	80.4	85.8	81.0	74.7	61.7
Minneapolis, Minn.	76.3	71.4	69.0	63.2	63.0	65.9	-----
Kansas City, Mo.	91.5	89.7	88.8	84.3	83.3	70.2	-----
Seattle, Wash.	74.3	71.6	72.7	68.1	-----	74.8	-----
Indianapolis, Ind.	94.6	91.5	89.9	86.3	83.2	77.9	-----
Jersey City, N. J.	74.4	70.9	71.7	67.3	67.5	61.4	60.8
Rochester, N. Y.	75.9	72.9	74.9	70.3	70.2	66.0	60.8
Portland, Oreg.	80.7	75.7	71.4	62.7	64.1	68.9	-----
Denver, Colo.	85.1	81.4	81.1	76.1	75.6	70.1	-----

CITY	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION FOREIGN BORN						
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860
New York, N. Y.	36.1	40.8	37.0	38.8	37.0	42.1	45.5
Chicago, Ill.	29.9	35.9	34.6	41.0	40.7	48.4	50.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	22.0	24.8	22.8	25.7	24.1	27.2	30.0
Detroit, Mich.	29.3	33.8	33.8	39.7	39.2	44.5	46.8
Cleveland, Ohio	30.1	35.0	32.6	37.2	37.1	41.8	44.8
St. Louis, Mo.	13.4	18.4	19.4	25.4	30.0	36.1	59.8
Boston, Mass.	32.4	36.3	35.1	35.3	31.6	35.1	35.9
Baltimore, Md.	11.6	13.0	13.5	15.9	16.9	21.1	24.7
Pittsburgh, Pa.	20.5	26.4	25.5	28.9	27.2	31.0	34.7
Los Angeles, Calif.	21.2	20.7	19.5	25.3	28.7	35.0	-----
Buffalo, N. Y.	24.0	28.0	29.6	35.0	33.0	39.3	46.4
San Francisco, Calif.	29.4	34.1	34.1	42.4	44.6	49.3	50.1
Milwaukee, Wis.	24.1	29.8	31.2	38.9	39.9	47.3	50.5
Washington, D. C.	6.7	7.5	7.2	8.1	9.6	12.6	17.6
Newark, N. J.	28.4	31.9	29.0	30.6	29.5	34.2	37.0
Cincinnati, Ohio	10.7	15.6	17.8	24.1	28.1	36.8	45.7
New Orleans, La.	7.1	8.4	10.6	14.2	19.0	25.3	38.3
Minneapolis, Minn.	23.2	28.6	30.1	36.8	32.0	34.1	-----
Kansas City, Mo.	8.5	10.3	11.2	15.7	16.7	23.8	-----
Seattle, Wash.	25.7	28.4	27.3	31.9	-----	25.2	-----
Indianapolis, Ind.	5.4	8.5	10.1	13.7	16.8	22.1	-----
Jersey City, N. J.	25.6	29.1	28.3	32.7	32.5	38.6	39.2
Rochester, N. Y.	24.1	27.1	25.1	29.7	29.8	34.0	39.2
Portland, Oreg.	19.3	24.3	28.6	37.3	35.9	31.1	-----
Denver, Colo.	14.9	18.6	18.9	23.9	24.4	23.9	-----

TABLE 19.—PER CENT OF NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR 25 PRINCIPAL CITIES: 1890-1920

CITY	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION							
	Native white of native parentage				Total foreign white stock			
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1920	1910	1900	1890
New York, N. Y.	20.7	19.3	21.5	21.2	76.4	78.6	76.6	77.2
Chicago, Ill.	23.8	20.4	20.9	20.3	72.0	77.5	77.3	78.4
Philadelphia, Pa.	38.3	37.7	40.3	39.6	54.2	56.8	54.7	56.0
Detroit, Mich.	31.6	24.7	21.5	20.8	61.2	74.0	77.1	77.5
Cleveland, Ohio.	26.6	23.6	23.0	23.6	69.0	74.8	76.4	75.2
St. Louis, Mo.	46.5	39.3	32.9	26.3	44.4	54.2	60.9	67.7
Boston, Mass.	24.3	23.5	26.1	30.3	73.3	74.2	71.7	67.8
Baltimore, Md.	51.6	46.8	46.4	43.0	33.6	37.9	38.0	41.6
Pittsburgh, Pa.	36.8	33.0	32.6	31.0	56.7	62.2	62.8	65.9
Los Angeles, Calif.	51.1	53.2	52.8	49.2	43.8	42.4	43.0	44.5
Buffalo, N. Y.	32.6	28.2	25.8	22.2	66.5	71.3	73.7	77.3
San Francisco, Calif.	33.0	27.7	24.4	20.8	63.7	68.3	70.5	69.8
Milwaukee, Wis.	28.6	21.1	17.0	13.3	70.9	78.6	82.7	86.5
Washington, D. C.	54.7	50.4	48.1	46.6	20.0	21.0	20.6	20.6
Newark, N. J.	27.4	27.3	29.1	30.7	68.5	69.9	68.1	67.0
Cincinnati, Ohio.	51.5	42.6	34.9	27.1	41.0	52.0	60.7	69.0
New Orleans, La.	49.2	43.5	35.9	29.1	24.6	30.1	36.8	44.2
Minneapolis, Minn.	35.0	31.9	30.2	32.7	63.9	67.2	69.0	66.4
Kansas City, Mo.	64.5	61.9	57.6	55.0	26.0	28.6	31.6	34.6
Seattle, Wash.	44.3	44.6	48.1	45.7	51.7	51.4	47.1	52.5
Indianapolis, Ind.	69.8	64.5	57.8	54.1	19.1	26.2	32.8	37.3
Jersey City, N. J.	29.2	28.0	27.7	25.5	68.1	69.8	70.4	73.1
Rochester, N. Y.	37.9	34.2	32.3	29.8	61.6	65.4	67.3	69.7
Portland, Oreg.	52.7	50.3	42.2	40.2	45.2	45.7	46.9	48.0
Denver, Colo.	56.4	50.1	49.9	51.1	40.9	46.9	46.9	45.1

CITY	Foreign-born white				Native white of foreign or mixed parentage			
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1920	1910	1900	1890
New York, N. Y.	35.4	40.4	36.7	38.7	41.0	38.2	39.9	38.5
Chicago, Ill.	29.8	35.7	34.5	40.9	42.2	41.8	42.8	37.5
Philadelphia, Pa.	21.8	24.7	22.7	25.6	32.4	32.1	32.0	30.9
Detroit, Mich.	29.1	33.6	33.6	39.3	35.1	40.4	43.5	38.2
Cleveland, Ohio.	30.1	34.9	32.6	37.1	38.9	39.9	42.8	38.2
St. Louis, Mo.	13.4	18.3	19.3	25.4	31.0	35.9	41.6	42.4
Boston, Mass.	31.9	35.9	34.8	34.9	41.4	38.3	36.9	32.9
Baltimore, Md.	11.4	13.8	13.3	15.8	22.2	24.1	24.6	25.8
Pittsburgh, Pa.	20.4	26.3	25.4	28.9	36.3	35.9	37.4	37.1
Los Angeles, Calif.	19.4	19.0	17.5	21.5	24.3	23.4	25.5	23.0
Buffalo, N. Y.	24.0	28.0	29.5	34.9	42.5	43.3	44.2	42.5
San Francisco, Calif.	27.7	31.4	30.4	33.9	36.0	36.9	40.1	35.8
Milwaukee, Wis.	24.1	29.8	31.2	38.9	46.8	48.8	51.5	47.6
Washington, D. C.	6.5	7.4	7.0	8.0	13.4	13.6	13.6	12.5
Newark, N. J.	28.2	31.8	28.9	30.5	40.2	38.1	39.2	36.5
Cincinnati, Ohio.	10.7	15.6	17.8	24.0	30.3	36.4	42.9	45.0
New Orleans, La.	6.7	8.2	10.3	14.0	17.9	21.9	26.5	30.2
Minneapolis, Minn.	23.1	28.5	30.1	36.7	40.8	38.7	38.9	29.7
Kansas City, Mo.	8.4	10.2	11.2	15.5	17.6	18.4	20.4	19.0
Seattle, Wash.	23.4	25.6	23.1	30.7	28.2	25.8	24.0	21.8
Indianapolis, Ind.	5.4	8.5	10.1	13.7	13.7	17.7	22.7	23.6
Jersey City, N. J.	25.5	29.0	28.2	32.6	42.6	40.7	42.2	40.5
Rochester, N. Y.	24.1	27.0	25.0	29.7	37.5	38.4	42.3	40.1
Portland, Oreg.	18.2	21.1	19.6	27.7	27.0	24.6	27.3	21.2
Denver, Colo.	14.7	18.2	18.6	22.9	26.3	28.7	28.3	22.2

Table 19 serves to show that the children of the foreign born, contrary to the tendency exhibited by them in urban areas in general, have increased their relative importance in the 25 principal cities. It should be observed that the period covered is only 30 years, as against 60 years in Table 18. Further, as in the case of the decrease of the foreign born in these cities, there is a marked inequality in the rate of increase among the native white of foreign or mixed parentage. In fact, 10 out of the 25 cities show decreases, some of considerable amounts; thus, in Cincinnati, this group has dropped from 45 per cent of the total population in 1890 to 30.3 per cent in 1920. On the other hand, the sons and daughters of immigrants have assumed such large proportions in Boston and Newark as to offset the decrease in the percentage of foreign born and thus to make the percentage of total foreign white stock in 1920 actually greater than in 1890.

In the face of such mixed data any generalization is very difficult. It may, however, be pointed out that, as shown above,⁸ there has been an increase in the proportion of the sons and daughters of immigrants in the total population as a result of the accumulated effects of the birth rate imputable to successive groups of immigrants. It seems probable that the tendency of the immigrants to congregate in the larger cities has thus led to an undue accentuation of the effect of these second generation foreigners in such cities. It may also be that those children of immigrants who have reached maturity, in common with many of their fellow citizens of native stock, have migrated to certain of the larger cities for economic and social reasons.⁹

It should be observed that the tendencies revealed by Tables 17, 18, and 19 are contrary to the widely held assumption on the part of many students of the immigrant problem, namely, that the so-called "new" immigrant is a more significant factor in urban life than was the "old" immigrant in former generations.

3. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN STOCK ACCORDING TO TERRITORIAL CHARACTERISTICS

The first two sections of this chapter have made it clear that a multiplicity of causative factors lies behind the territorial distribution of immigrant stock. Some of these factors, namely, economic development and urbanization, have been suggested. It is plain, however, that other agencies than these must have been operative in the movement of this portion of the population. It is therefore necessary further to classify the various areas of the country and to relate the foreign stock to the several categories of territory resulting.

⁸ Cf. *supra*, Ch. II, Tables 1 and 2.

⁹ Cf. Rossiter, *op. cit.*, Ch. X.

TABLE 20.—IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES, BY PORTS OF ADMISSION, BY DECADES: 1830-1919

PORT OF ADMISSION	IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED									
	1910 to 1919	1900 to 1909	1890 to 1899	1880 to 1879	1870 to 1869	1860 to 1859	1850 to 1849	1840 to 1839	1830 to 1829	
Total admitted.....	6,347,389	8,202,388	3,694,294	5,248,568	2,742,137	2,123,219	1,290,800	1,478,478	1,572,716	
New York, N. Y.....	4,303,803	6,301,407	2,877,438	3,614,972	1,704,959	1,671,248	2,059,838	985,137	360,855	
Boston and Charlestown, Mass.....	306,374	470,132	226,742	383,476	1,197,225	103,527	192,914	128,641	27,687	
Philadelphia, Pa.....	251,072	262,035	209,008	276,442	45,725	23,732	108,540	70,732	53,345	
Baltimore, Md.....	150,877	429,944	215,907	298,874	88,585	58,260	83,567	68,000	56,907	
Portland and Falmouth, Me.....	12,449	13,465	5,044	9,876	24,002	32,113	11,362	7,154	2,548	
New Bedford, Mass.....	8,702	16,010	4,016	5,033	2,721	900	750	389	230	
Providence, R. I.....	39,788	524	49	15	175	364	680	668	327	
Newport News, Va.....	2,208	17	32	1	2,432	45	475	1,717	2,038	
Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va.....	2,421	818	16	1	74	1	1,320	1,257	---	
Savannah, Ga.....	228	230	10	1	---	---	---	---	---	
Miami, Fla.....	11,667	4,535	96	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Key West, Fla.....	12,180	40,150	35,871	24,460	9,671	1,825	1,637	797	544	
Other Atlantic ports.....	773	983	367	140	307	929	9,313	3,441	3,133	
Tampa, Fla.....	19,501	6,297	78	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Pensacola, Fla.....	101	245	50	149	87	---	---	---	---	
Mobile, Ala.....	637	970	9	4	---	---	---	---	---	
New Orleans, La.....	18,600	36,600	24,000	27,561	36,074	321	2,477	172	231	
Galveston, Tex.....	29,615	37,398	3,063	8,234	4,672	34,217	304,924	161,657	53,636	
Other Gulf ports.....	9,339	51,148	29,305	72,513	142,728	61,369	83,110	5,288	---	
San Francisco, Calif.....	66,092	1,812	2,188	10,778	12,257	1,587	11	---	---	
Portland and other Oregon ports.....	317	30,915	2,421	3,366	428	44	---	---	---	
Seattle and other Washington ports.....	30,732	3,493	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Alaska.....	3,493	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Mexican border stations.....	174,777	34,642	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Through Canada.....	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Atlantic ports and border stations.....	847,769	379,535	42,801	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Pacific ports.....	4,310	27,033	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Honolulu, Hawaii.....	41,600	64,092	16,015	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Porto Rico.....	9,534	10,501	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
All other districts.....	281	121	428	512,949	468,945	127,437	32,111	44,798	31,235	

* Including 160,603 United States citizens; not segregated in returns by port.

* Including 52,141 United States citizens; not segregated in returns by port.

* Including 34,385 United States citizens; not segregated in returns by port.

* Including 889 given for the combined ports of Miami and Tampa during the period 1900 to 1905.

* Not including arrivals at Tampa during period 1900 to 1905. See footnote 4.

Among the many possible types of territorial characteristics that might be chosen seven have been selected for this purpose: (1) Location of ports of entry; (2) urbanization; (3) rate of population growth; (4) total population density; (5) proportion of negro population; (6) industrial development; and (7) the number of years' residence in the United States of the foreign-born white. In greater or less degree, all seven appear to bear some relation to the problem under consideration. Tables 20 to 26, and 138 to 146, inclusive, present these various comparisons.

The *first* territorial characteristic with reference to which the distribution of foreign stock is tabulated is the location of ports of entry.

Table 20, showing the numbers of immigrants admitted into the United States by decades, for the principal ports of entry, suggests that at least some relationship exists between the place where the immigrant lands in America and the region in which he settles. Thus, the three principal ports of the Northern and Eastern States, namely, New York, Boston (including Charlestown), and Philadelphia, have for the past 100 years received from three-fourths to nine-tenths of the total immigration to this country; and, as pointed out previously, it is these same Northern and Eastern States, in which these ports are located, that now contain the larger portion of foreign stock. Again, San Francisco has ranked as one of the most important ports of entry since 1850, and the Pacific States and the Mountain States, adjacent to it, have, as already seen, ranked consistently high in foreign stock during the same period. Hence, the table suggests that both the Pacific and Atlantic Seaboard States owe their relatively large foreign populations, in part, to a steadily accumulating residue of those who, through lack of resources or initiative, or through the attraction of immediate opportunity, have never penetrated very far beyond the cities in which they first landed from abroad.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that the East and West North Central States, with no seaports at all, have consistently ranked fairly high in foreign-born population, so that it is obvious that, for many immigrants, the great seaboard cities have served only as "way-stations" in the course of migration toward the interior of the country.

A *second* basis of comparison is urbanization, which is covered in Tables 21, 22, and 138 to 140.

As might be expected after consideration of the data concerning the percentage of immigrant stock in urban areas, these tables show a pretty general correspondence between the degree of urbanization of the several divisions and States and the proportion of foreign stock in them. There is one respect in which this correspondence is particu-

larly close, namely, that obtaining between the proportion, in a given area, of the total population dwelling in cities and the proportion of immigrant stock.

TABLE 21.—URBANIZATION OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, FOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	URBANIZATION			
	Total population		Urban population	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
United States.....	105,710,620	100.0	54,304,603	51.4
New England.....	7,400,909	100.0	5,805,073	79.2
Middle Atlantic.....	22,261,144	100.0	16,672,595	74.9
East North Central.....	21,475,543	100.0	13,049,272	60.8
West North Central.....	12,544,249	100.0	4,727,372	37.7
South Atlantic.....	13,990,272	100.0	4,338,792	31.0
East South Central.....	8,893,307	100.0	1,994,207	22.4
West South Central.....	10,242,224	100.0	2,970,829	29.0
Mountain.....	3,336,101	100.0	1,214,980	36.4
Pacific.....	5,566,871	100.0	3,471,483	62.4

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	PER CENT							
	Native white of native parentage		Foreign white stock					
			Total		Foreign-born white		Native white of foreign or mixed parentage	
	In total population	In urban population	In total population	In urban population	In total population	In urban population	In total population	In urban population
United States.....	55.3	45.2	34.4	48.0	13.0	19.1	21.5	28.9
New England.....	37.9	31.8	61.0	66.9	25.3	28.0	35.7	38.9
Middle Atlantic.....	43.3	35.8	54.0	61.0	22.1	25.4	31.9	35.5
East North Central.....	54.9	45.8	42.6	50.7	15.0	10.2	27.6	31.5
West North Central.....	59.6	55.6	37.9	39.8	10.9	12.8	26.9	27.0
South Atlantic.....	62.8	59.0	6.2	14.6	2.3	5.1	4.0	9.5
East South Central.....	68.5	61.7	3.1	9.6	0.8	2.4	2.3	7.2
West South Central.....	68.0	64.1	11.3	17.6	4.5	7.4	6.8	10.2
Mountain.....	60.0	57.2	36.3	40.8	13.6	14.9	22.7	25.9
Pacific.....	51.9	49.7	44.3	46.9	18.6	19.7	25.7	27.2

Table 22 shows that each group of States ranks the same in these two respects excepting the West South Central and South Atlantic groups, and these vary by only one step in the scale. Such data as this, together with that collated in the table immediately preceding, point to the conclusion that, whatever its cause, *there is a tendency for the immigrant stock to settle more heavily than elsewhere in urbanized regions.*

TABLE 22.—RANK OF GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS ACCORDING TO PER CENT OF POPULATION URBAN, AND PER CENT OF POPULATION OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	RANK ACCORDING TO—	
	Per cent of population urban	Per cent of population of foreign white stock
New England.....	1	1
Middle Atlantic.....	2	2
East North Central.....	4	4
West North Central.....	5	5
South Atlantic.....	7	8
East South Central.....	9	9
West South Central.....	8	7
Mountain.....	6	6
Pacific.....	3	3

The foregoing generalization must not be pushed so far as to take urbanization as the decisive factor in determining the regions in which the immigrant and his children will settle. If such were the case, Tables 139 and 140 would be likely to show a higher correlation between concentration in moderately large and very large cities than they do. In fact, as will become abundantly clear from the concluding section of this chapter, the distribution of the foreign born and their offspring is a factor with so many functions, that it is impossible to assign, either by mathematical calculation or logical deduction, a primacy of influence to any one of them.

A *third* basis for classifying the regions in which immigrants are found is the rate of population growth in that region. The figures relevant to this phase of the study are contained in Tables 23 and 141 to 143.

TABLE 23.—RATE OF GROWTH, 1900-1920, AND PER CENT OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	PER CENT OF INCREASE: 1900-1920		PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION			
	Total population	Urban population	Native white of native parentage	Foreign white stock		
				Total	Foreign-born white	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage
United States.....	39.1	78.7	55.3	34.4	13.0	21.5
New England.....	32.3	44.7	37.9	61.0	25.3	35.7
Middle Atlantic.....	44.6	65.5	43.3	54.0	22.1	31.0
East North Central.....	34.3	80.7	54.9	42.6	15.0	27.6
West North Central.....	21.2	60.4	59.6	37.9	10.9	20.0
South Atlantic.....	34.0	94.3	62.8	6.2	2.3	4.0
East South Central.....	17.8	76.3	68.5	3.1	0.8	2.3
West South Central.....	59.8	151.0	68.0	11.3	4.5	6.8
Mountain.....	99.2	124.4	60.0	36.3	13.6	22.7
Pacific.....	130.4	209.3	51.9	44.3	18.6	25.7

The interval between 1900 and 1920 has been selected as that in which to measure the rate of growth, partly to guard against the war-time abnormalities of the period 1910-1920, and partly to provide for the "lag" that ordinarily exists between causes and consequences in social phenomena of such large proportions as those comprehended in this comparison.

The tables show a very slight correspondence between the two sets of data. Examination of the figures for separate States, in Table 141, suggests, however, a slight tendency for States showing small population increases to show also low percentages of both foreign born and native born of foreign or mixed parentage.¹⁰

The *fourth* standard of comparison is that of population density and yields somewhat more positive results than the one just described. Table 24 covers the data for the major geographic divisions, while Table 144 covers the separate States. It is obvious from the former that New England and the Middle Atlantic States lead both in population density and in percentage of foreign white stock.

For the other sections, however, there is no correspondence in these two features. Moreover, examination of the individual States, as shown in Table 144, makes it clear that, except in the New England area, there is no significant correlation between the States as a whole.

The causes for this apparently contradictory result are not far to seek. Population density may betoken urbanized industrialization or relatively intensive agriculture. In New England and the Middle Atlantic division the former is generally the case; consequently, the immigrant population, which has already been seen to be associated with urbanization, is also found to bear a certain degree of relationship to population density. On the other hand, in the West and South, whatever degree of population density exists is usually indicative of relatively intensive agricultural development, while in the remaining areas one or the other phenomenon may be signified. Inasmuch as the immigrants have been found to be thinly settled in the rural regions where agriculture is carried on, it is not to be expected

¹⁰ Comparison between the proportion of foreign-born white stock and the *absolute* growth of the various States was also made during the preparation of this monograph, but resulted just as negatively as did that based on rate of growth; Table 142 contains the results of the computation, and shows the following non-significant coefficients:

Class of population	Total	Urban
Native white of native parentage.....	-.148±.094	-.092±.096
Foreign white stock.....	+.064±.096	+.121±.095
Foreign-born white.....	+.058±.096	+.097±.095
Native white, foreign or mixed parentage.....	+.058±.096	+.110±.095
Negro and foreign white stock combined.....	+.193±.093	+.150±.094

that a continuation of the comparison outside the New England and Middle Atlantic States would show any but negative results.

Another disturbing factor is the presence of a large negro population in the Southern States.

TABLE 24.—POPULATION DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE AND PER CENT OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	Population density per square mile	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION			
		Native white of native parentage	Foreign white stock		
			Total	Foreign-born white	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage
United States.....	35.5	55.3	34.4	13.0	21.5
New England.....	119.4	37.9	61.0	25.3	35.7
Middle Atlantic.....	222.6	43.3	54.0	22.1	31.9
East North Central.....	87.5	54.9	42.6	15.0	27.6
West North Central.....	24.6	59.6	37.9	10.9	26.9
South Atlantic.....	52.0	62.8	0.2	2.3	4.0
East South Central.....	49.5	68.5	3.1	0.8	2.3
West South Central.....	23.8	68.0	11.3	4.5	6.8
Mountain.....	3.9	60.0	36.3	13.6	22.7
Pacific.....	17.5	51.9	44.3	18.6	25.7

The proportion of negro population in a given area constitutes the *fifth* basis of comparison. Tables 25 and 145 provide the material for its consideration. How effectively a large negro population acts as a barrier to the immigrant and his children is clearly shown in Table 25. The contrast is particularly striking in these regions, such as the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central States, which are at the top of the list in percentage of negro population and at the bottom of the list in percentage of foreign white stock. The evidence is even more striking when individual States are studied, as in Table 145.

Many causes might be adduced for this feature of American population distribution. The retarded industrial development of the Southern States has probably operated to make the demand for the foreigner's labor power less urgent than in other regions. The paucity of through transportation routes in a southerly direction from the great ports of entry may also have played its part. In both these respects, it would be the South *as such*, and not as the seat of a large negro population, that failed to attract the immigrant. Yet, there must be a closer relationship of this failure with the presence of the negro in that region. Otherwise, such regions as the Northwest, which are also imperfectly industrialized and are—or were—at least as difficult of access as the South, would be as sparsely settled with foreign stock as the South, which is, of course, not the case.

TABLE 25.—PER CENT OF NEGRO POPULATION AND PER CENT OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION					
	White	Negro	Native white of native parentage	Foreign white stock		
				Total	Foreign-born white	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage
United States.....	89.7	9.9	55.3	34.4	13.0	21.5
New England.....	98.9	1.1	37.9	61.0	25.3	35.7
Middle Atlantic.....	97.2	2.7	43.3	54.0	22.1	31.9
East North Central.....	97.5	2.4	54.9	42.6	15.0	27.6
West North Central.....	97.5	2.2	59.0	37.9	10.9	26.9
South Atlantic.....	69.0	30.9	62.8	6.2	2.3	4.0
East South Central.....	71.6	28.4	68.5	3.1	0.8	2.3
West South Central.....	79.2	20.1	68.0	11.3	4.5	6.8
Mountain.....	96.3	0.9	60.0	36.3	13.6	22.7
Pacific.....	96.2	0.9	51.9	44.3	18.6	25.7

There are three ways in which a heavy negro population may have turned immigration to one side. First, the negroes have been sufficiently numerous to occupy most of the agricultural land, and so leave little opportunity for the land-seeking immigrant. Second, the negro has also been sufficiently numerous to satisfy, at least in part, the South's need for unskilled labor, and, by the same token, the sort of need that the immigrant has most frequently been called upon to fill.¹¹ Third, the complex of social and economic conditions surrounding the employment of negroes in the South has created wage scales at such a level and working conditions of such a sort as to offer little attraction to a group whose presence in this country betokens the desire for an improved economic and social status.

Whatever the cause, the phenomenon stands out as one of the most striking that this study has revealed. It is, too, one that has undoubtedly influenced the country's social history profoundly. For the South is differentiated from the rest of the country, not only in having a large negro population, but also, as is often overlooked, in not having any appreciable foreign population. And, because of this latter fact, the white South is undoubtedly closer to the colonial times in social type and mental outlook than any other region. It is, of course, true that the retarded industrialization already referred to has also operated conservatively, yet it is entirely likely that this, in itself, may be due in part to the fact that the South never experienced the influx of cheap labor and the increase of buying power that the immigrant tide brought to the North and West.

¹¹ This aspect of the question is discussed at greater length in Chapter X, on the occupational distribution of the foreign-born population.

The *sixth* of the series of comparative studies rests upon the occupational distribution of the population in the several States and geographic divisions. Table 26 shows the proportion of the population 10 years of age and over gainfully occupied in the four major classes of productive industry, as well as the nativity distribution of the entire population by geographic divisions, and Table 146 carries the same comparisons into the separate States. Two broad conclusions concerning the relation of immigration to industrial development can be based on these tables. First, the immigrant and his children are *not* heavily represented in regions where agriculture and allied industries are the leading pursuits. Second, the foreign stock is heavily represented in those sections where manufacturing is important. The data covering extraction of minerals and transportation are inconclusive, probably because neither employs a large percentage of the population of either a State or group of States. If the analysis could have been carried down to counties, more significant results might have been obtained.

With regard to agriculture and allied extractive industries, there appears a fairly clear inverse relationship as between the geographic divisions. The New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and Pacific divisions rank 8, 9, 7, and 6, respectively, in percentage of persons employed in these occupations, and 1, 2, 4, and 3 in percentage of foreign-born white. On the other hand, the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central groups rank 3, 1, and 2, respectively, in agricultural employment, and at the bottom of the list, or 8, 9, and 7, respectively, in percentage of foreign-born white. Yet, here, as elsewhere, no unqualified deductions can be drawn for it is this same southern group of States which has just been pointed out as having an unusually large negro population. It should be further noted that no inference should be made concerning the presence or absence of the immigrant in agriculture. It will be seen in a future chapter that many immigrants, particularly of earlier migrations, have entered largely into agriculture. This table shows merely that they have not engaged heavily in agriculture as compared with other nativity classes.

The case is more clear-cut in connection with manufacturing and mechanical industries. Those regions ranking high in percentage of persons engaged in these pursuits also rank high in percentage of foreign white stock. The same is true to a considerable degree with the individual States, as shown in Table 146. Thus, among the 15 States ranking highest in order of the percentage of persons engaged in these pursuits, and among the 15 ranking States according to the

percentage of total foreign white stock and of foreign-born white, respectively, there are 9 States which appear in all three of these groups.

Here it should be pointed out that agriculture and allied occupations are practiced in rural areas, and that manufacturing and mechanical pursuits are usually found in urbanized regions. Thus, it would seem that the distribution of the immigrant population is governed by a group of associated factors rather than by any one or two dominant forces.

TABLE 26.—INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, AND PER CENT OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY OCCUPIED					
	Total		In specified industries			
	Number	Per cent	Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry		Extraction of minerals	
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
United States.....	41,614,248	100.0	10,953,158	26.3	1,090,223	2.6
New England.....	3,234,392	100.0	255,580	7.9	4,853	0.2
Middle Atlantic.....	9,240,216	100.0	660,240	7.1	343,916	3.7
East North Central.....	8,515,849	100.0	1,633,790	19.2	216,238	2.5
West North Central.....	4,587,996	100.0	1,683,253	36.8	74,141	1.6
South Atlantic.....	5,339,999	100.0	2,177,438	40.8	134,221	2.5
East South Central.....	3,310,844	100.0	1,895,142	54.5	104,969	3.2
West South Central.....	3,716,248	100.0	1,898,084	48.7	83,069	2.2
Mountain.....	1,254,994	100.0	427,158	34.0	93,064	7.4
Pacific.....	2,413,710	100.0	490,473	20.6	35,722	1.5

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY OCCUPIED—continued				PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION			
	In specified industries—Continued				Foreign white stock			
	Manufacturing and mechanical industries		Transportation		Native white of native parentage	Total		
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		Total	Foreign-born white	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage
United States.....	12,818,524	30.8	3,063,582	7.4	55.3	34.4	13.0	21.5
New England.....	1,632,267	50.5	215,191	6.7	37.9	61.0	25.3	35.7
Middle Atlantic.....	3,812,388	41.3	799,220	8.6	43.3	54.0	22.1	31.9
East North Central.....	3,171,064	37.2	628,947	7.4	54.9	42.6	15.0	27.6
West North Central.....	962,321	21.0	358,829	7.8	59.6	37.9	10.9	20.9
South Atlantic.....	1,202,668	22.5	324,221	6.1	62.8	6.2	2.3	4.0
East South Central.....	533,407	15.8	170,665	5.2	68.5	3.1	0.8	2.3
West South Central.....	588,383	15.8	247,665	6.7	68.0	11.3	4.5	6.8
Mountain.....	227,431	18.1	111,517	8.0	60.0	30.3	13.6	22.7
Pacific.....	698,595	28.9	207,318	8.6	51.9	44.3	18.6	25.7

Tables 27, 147, and 148 embody the calculations made for this purpose. Table 147 shows the States arrayed according to their ranking, first as to the percentage of native and foreign white stock, and second, as to the various territorial characteristics discussed in the foregoing sections excepting that relating to negro population. Table 148 is similarly constructed, but refers only to those States having less than 25 per cent of their population negro. It is obvious that this second method of computation is designed to avoid the disturbing influence upon the ratio of immigrant stock to total population, which is exerted by the presence of a large negro population in any locality.¹⁴ The coefficients of correlation derived from these tables are presented in Table 27.¹⁵

The inductions to be derived from these comparisons have already been suggested. In the first place, *there is no single example of striking correlation.* In the second place, there is a fairly well-defined set of what might be termed "*related correlations.*"

The *first* conclusion, as to the absence of any outstanding evidence of correlation, appears from inspection of Table 27, and from Tables 147 and 148 upon which Table 27 is based. Out of 72 coefficients, there are 11 which are in any way significant, that is, which come to more than 0.50, and which amount to more than $6 \times PE$. Yet, the highest of these, the inverse relation of foreign-born white population to percentage of population employed in agriculture and similar pursuits, is $-.662 \pm .054$, which, while significant, can hardly be called conclusive. The probable reason for this negative result has been given. It is the multiplicity of causative factors at work in the territorial distribution of immigrants. Some of these factors make themselves apparent in the present study; others are incapable of establishment by statistical means; still others, undoubtedly, have thus far escaped observation altogether. In view of this diversity and obscurity, it is not to be expected that the computation undertaken here could eventuate differently. The result that has been attained is, however, of some value in the very fact that it is so nearly negative. *As yet, it is impossible to assign any single factor or group of factors as the primary force in the distribution of the foreign stock in this country.*

From this conclusion, certain others, of a more practical bearing, immediately follow. It is impossible to predict with any certainty future population changes, in so far as they depend upon the migration of the foreign stock. It is, further, extremely difficult to construct

¹⁴ Rank tables and "Spearman" coefficients of correlation were also made, using as a basis of comparison the percentage of combined foreign stock and negro population, but they failed to give significant results, and have not been included in the monograph.

¹⁵ It should be noted that these are "rank" coefficients, not "product-moment" coefficients.

any social policy upon any assumed general tendency as regards place of residence of the immigrant stock now living in the United States.

The *second* inference to be drawn from this set of comparisons is the existence of a number of "related correlations," which, while not noteworthy, are yet of considerable significance. Inspection of Table 27 shows that the percentage of foreign white stock bears a fairly high positive correlation to the percentage of population in cities of 100,000 or more, and to the percentage of occupied persons in manufacturing and mechanical industries. Again, there is a rather pronounced negative correlation between percentage of foreign white stock and percentage of occupied persons engaged in agriculture and similar occupations. As explained in the preceding section, there seems to be evidenced a tendency on the part of the foreign born and their children to settle in urbanized rather than rural localities, more especially in the vicinity of large urban areas, and in regions in which manufacturing industries are largely present, and in which agriculture is not of great importance. In addition, direct data have previously been adduced to show that the foreign stock is much more heavily represented in urban than rural communities, and in large urban centers than in small ones. It has been seen, further, that there is some evidence of a disposition on the part of the immigrants to settle near the large seaports at which they land after their voyage from their homelands. Finally, there has been found a clear tendency on the part both of the immigrant and of his offspring to avoid those regions thickly populated by negroes.

Can any generally valid deductions be drawn from this assortment of material? Not with any degree of finality. Yet certain tentative conclusions may be put forward. The immigrant seems to prefer the city to the country, and to seek employment in industry rather than agriculture. He seeks large, densely populated cities, rather than small ones, and he does not compete in any large way with the negro.

Beyond these rather obvious generalizations it is difficult to go. It may very likely be that the immigrant's primary motivation is economic, so that he seeks the easily available, unskilled jobs to be found in large-scale industry which the cities, especially the great cities, offer. It may be that he avoids the rural areas for this reason, and that he avoids those regions largely populated by negroes, because the latter have already invaded the market for unskilled industrial labor there. Yet, the chain of causation may flow the other way. He may have settled in the great cities because the most of them are either large ports of debarkation, or are on main-traveled routes from those ports. He may, moreover, as sug-

gested by Tables 12 and 13, have tended to cluster in these regions through the pressure of the tendency toward ethnic cohesion. He may, finally, have engaged largely in industry simply because those localities in which he has found himself had no other economic opportunities to offer. From this viewpoint, the avoidance of the "Black Belt" would be largely a fortuitous circumstance attributable to the fact that the negro is most numerous in the agricultural sections of the "Old South."

Still other factors remain to be considered. One is the tendency of industry to follow the labor supply, and hence to locate near those areas in which the foreign stock happens to be. Another is the steady urbanization and industrialization of the whole American Nation, irrespective of immigration. Still another is the gradual filling up of the western agricultural region, and the consequent "backing up" of the immigrant tide into the cities. Further analysis would undoubtedly bring out additional elements in the problem. Enough has been said, however, to establish the unlikelihood of there being any single explanation of this complex set of phenomena.

It is, indeed, more than likely that some or all of these various forces have been at work together. For example, it is certainly true that the immigrant of to-day is less numerous in the rural portions of the country than he might otherwise be because virgin soil and cheap land no longer await him. It is also just as true that the immigrant's necessitous condition makes him seek the easily found employment offered by the large-scale industries near the great urban centers. And there is no necessary contradiction between the synchronous co-existence of such influences as these. On the contrary, it is to be expected that such a far-reaching phenomenon as population movement—reaching as it does into almost every motive of human behavior—would reflect a wide variety of simultaneously operative factors.

SUMMARY

Complexity appears, therefore, to be the dominating feature of the territorial distribution of the foreign stock. This element seems to have settled most heavily, first here, and then there, according largely to the changing economic life of the country. Throughout the period, sections heavily populated by negroes have been avoided; cities have always shown a large quota of foreigners; and—probably, though not certainly—the cities have retained somewhat more immigrants than the country. This has certainly been the case for the past 20 years. It is likely, further, that during the period a steadily increasing number of "residual" foreigners have settled permanently

in the vicinity of the seaport cities in which they landed from abroad. The year 1920 finds the foreign population most heavily settled in the Northeastern and far Western States, and most sparsely settled in the "Old South," and crowded most densely into the larger industrialized urbanized areas. As for the future, the data contain little upon which to base predictions. It does, however, suggest a slight movement out into the rural areas on the part of the second generation of foreigners, but also an indisposition on the part of this second generation to travel very far from their foreign-born parents and kinsmen.

Finally, it should be repeated that certain widely held assumptions find little support from the data in this chapter. The "new" immigrant does not seem any more prone to follow the routes suggested by economic motives than the "old." The American city of to-day is no more congested with foreigners than was the case a half century ago, although in certain large cities there is a large relative increase in the children of the foreign born. It is true that the "new" immigrant is found less generally in agricultural regions, and more generally in the industrialized cities than was the "old" immigrant. Yet, it must never be forgotten that the same observation applies in a great measure to the entire white population of the country, and that this shifting in location is probably due far more to the general course of social and economic development than to any change in preference or capacity on the part of the immigrant himself.

IV

DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN STOCK ACCORDING TO LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

INTRODUCTORY

The foreign stock has hitherto been treated as an undifferentiated mass, since the division of this population group into any but its primary components would obscure the broad facts of nativity classification and territorial distribution with which the foregoing analysis is concerned. The further discussion of this element's significance in the population, however, requires more detailed treatment.

The composition of the foreign stock may be studied from three different points of view. First, the foreign-born portion of the immigrant stock may be classified according to its length of residence in the United States. Second, both foreign born and native born of foreign or mixed parentage may be subdivided into nationality, race, and language groups. Third, this element may be analyzed on the basis of its age and sex distribution. The first of these topics is considered in this chapter.

A very commonly used classification of the foreign born is that based upon the year of the immigrant's arrival in this country. The principal reason for the wide adoption of this device is the fact that the country of origin and racial type of the immigrant have changed profoundly during the past 40 years. About the year 1880, immigrants from the various northern and western European countries, which had previously contributed the overwhelming majority of this Nation's foreign white stock, began giving place to migrants originating in eastern and southern Europe and, latterly, in Asia Minor. Students have attached great significance to this change, from the "old immigration" to the "new immigration," as these groups are generally termed, because of the difference in racial type, cultural background, and personality traits which distinguishes—or is believed to distinguish—these two groups.¹

There are, however, other considerations of almost equal weight that lend importance to this approach to the immigrant question. They are the relation of the year of immigration to the flow of immigration to this country, and to the territorial distribution of the foreign born. These two topics constitute the subject matter taken

¹ Cf. *inter alia*, Report of the United States Immigration Commission, Vol. I, pp. 23, 24.

up in the first and second part of this chapter. The third is the relation between year of immigration and nationality, race, and language group. The fourth is the interrelation between year of immigration, territorial distribution, and nationality, race, and language group.

1. YEAR OF IMMIGRATION AND FLOW OF IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

The rise and fall of the immigrant tide is a matter of fundamental concern. As stated in Chapter II, the immigrant problem is largely affected by the numbers of foreigners arriving in this country from year to year. More than this, the effect of any change in the character of the immigration at any given time is exaggerated or minimized, according as the volume of immigration is large or small. The data bearing on this subject are of two sorts, first, the annual statistics of the volume of immigration, and, second, the year of immigration of the foreign-born population resident in the country as reported in a given year. Table 28 and Charts 2 and 3 contain the first type of information, and Tables 29 and 30 and Chart 3, the second. No close correspondence between the two sets of figures is to be expected, since a large number appearing in the first would have died or emigrated before being counted in the second. They can, nevertheless, be profitably studied together.

TABLE 28.—IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, BY DECADES, 1820-1919, AND BY YEARS, 1910-1919¹

DECADE	Immigration	YEAR	Immigration
1910-1919.....	6,347,380	1919.....	141,132
1900-1909.....	8,202,388	1918.....	110,618
1890-1899.....	3,694,294	1917.....	295,403
1880-1889.....	5,248,568	1916.....	298,826
1870-1879.....	2,742,137	1915.....	326,700
1860-1869.....	2,123,219	1914.....	1,218,480
1850-1859.....	2,747,897	1913.....	1,197,892
1840-1849.....	1,427,337	1912.....	838,172
1830-1839.....	538,381	1911.....	878,587
1820-1829.....	128,502	1910.....	1,041,570

¹Source: Report of Commissioner General of Immigration: 1920. Fiscal years and not calendar years are used as the unit of tabulation.

TABLE 29.—FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY YEAR OF IMMIGRATION,¹ FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	Number	Per cent	YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	Number	Per cent
Total, 1920.....	13,920,692	100.0	1914.....	449,876	3.2
1919.....	214,123	1.5	1911-1913.....	1,004,890	11.5
1918.....	85,570	0.6	1906-1910.....	2,229,863	16.0
1917.....	116,222	0.8	1901-1905.....	1,814,264	13.0
1916.....	177,184	1.3	1900 or earlier.....	5,761,237	41.4
1915.....	203,098	1.5	Not reported.....	1,264,360	9.1

¹ "Years" refer to calendar years.

These tables throw into relief two sets of phenomena, first, the fluctuations in immigration during the period 1820-1919, and second, the changed composition of the foreign-born population, relative to the year of their immigration, resulting from these fluctuations and also from the war-time reëmigration.

The fluctuations may best be studied in Table 28, and Charts 2 and 3. They show that during the period 1820-1919, immigration to this country mounted rapidly, though unevenly, growing from a bare 128,000 in the decade 1820-1829 to 8,202,000 in the decade 1900-1909. The decade following, however, shows a sharp decline, namely, from 8,202,000 to 6,347,000. Table 29 and Chart 3 show that the World War was the primary cause for this decrease, as it did not set in until 1914, and ceased with the year 1918. These same tables register, moreover, a rapid rise during the year 1919, which probably would have continued well into the present decade had not restrictive legislation gone into effect in 1921.

TABLE 30.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY YEAR OF IMMIGRATION, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920 AND 1910

YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	Per cent distribution	YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	Per cent distribution
Total, 1920.....	100.0	Total, 1910.....	100.0
1919.....	1.5	1909 (includes 1910 to Apr. 15).....	6.0
1918.....	0.6	1908.....	3.1
1917.....	0.8	1907.....	5.2
1916.....	1.3	1906.....	4.7
1915.....	1.5	1905.....	3.9
1914-1914.....	14.7	1904-1904.....	11.1
1909-1910.....	16.0	1899-1900.....	7.9
1904-1905.....	13.0	1894-1895.....	3.6
1900 or earlier.....	41.4	1890 or earlier.....	39.6
Not reported.....	9.1	Not reported.....	9.9

The effect of these fluctuations upon the composition of the foreign stock is reflected in Tables 30 and 31 and Chart 3. Table 30 and Chart 3 show the rapid falling off, for the war-time period, both of immigration and of the number of immigrants enumerated in 1920 as having come to this country during those years.

Table 30 indicates certain marked changes in the composition of the foreign-born population which were brought about by this decline in immigration. Thus, in 1910, 39.6 per cent of the foreign-born population had arrived 20 years or more before the census year, while in 1920, 41.4 per cent had been in America 20 or more years. Again, in 1910, 56.1 per cent of the foreign born had immigrated 10 years or more before the census, while in 1920, 70.4 per cent had been in this country a decade or longer. On the other hand, the 1910 census shows a much larger percentage of recently arrived immigrants than does that for 1920, the former showing a higher percentage than

the latter of foreign born migrating in the 9 years before each respective census year. In other words, as a result of the dislocation of immigration due to the war, this country had, in 1920, an appreciably higher proportion of immigrants who had been here 10 years or longer, and a smaller proportion who had been here 9 years or less, than in 1910.

CHART 2.—DECENNIAL IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: 1820-1919

[Logarithmic scale]

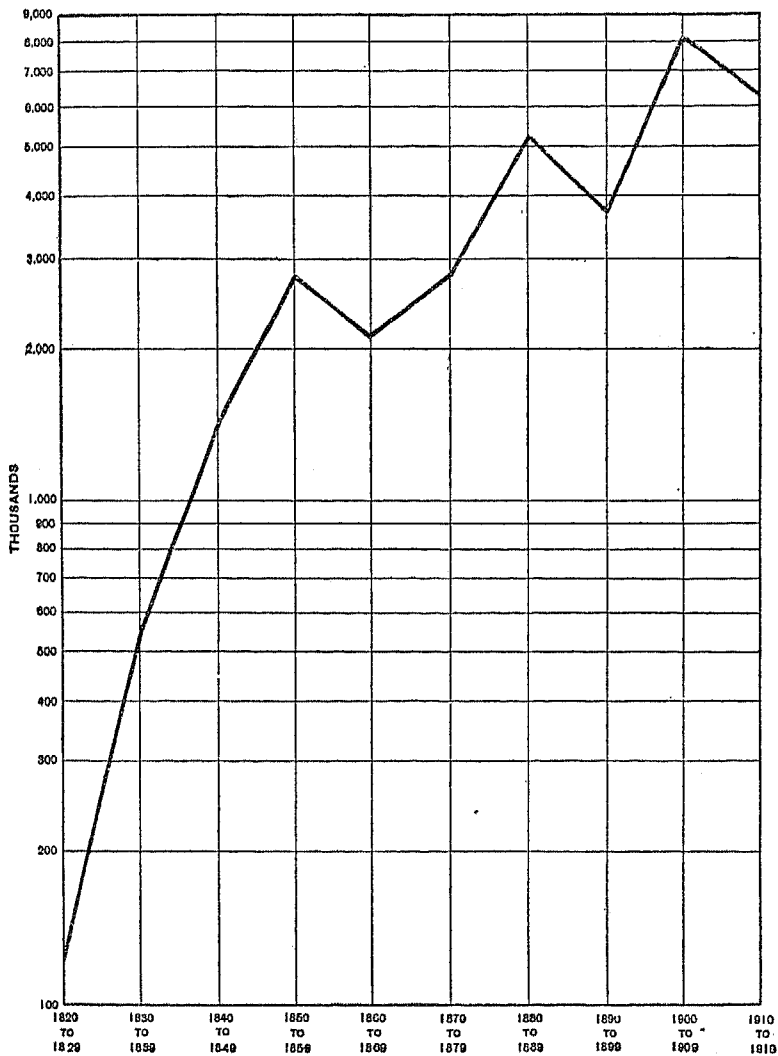
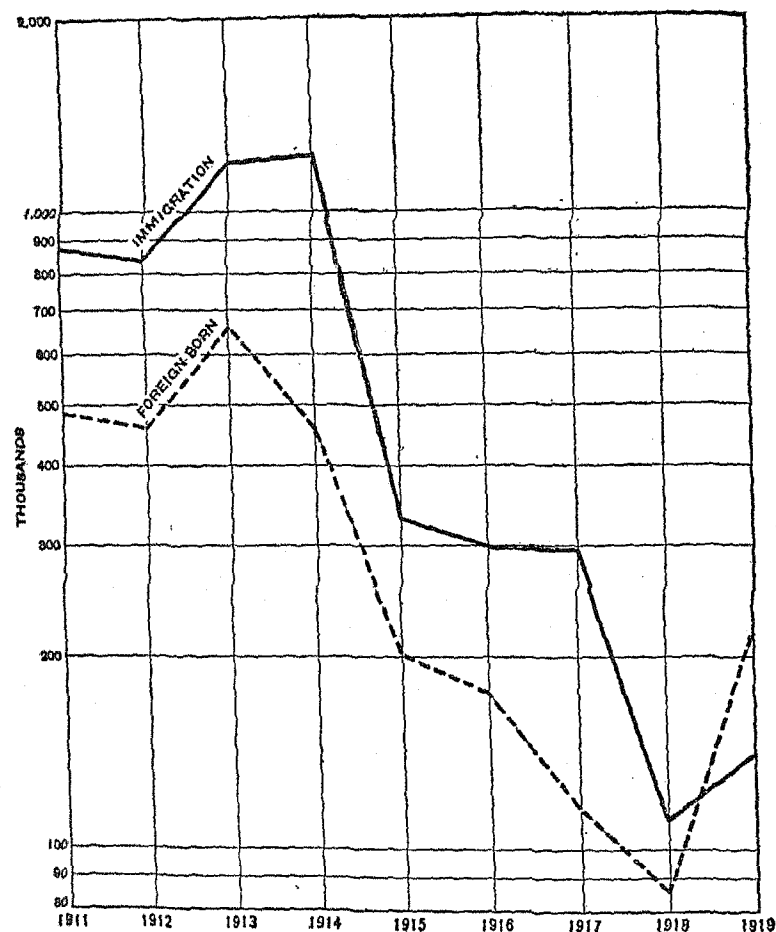


Chart 3 shows, however, that another war-time influence has been at work in cutting down the number of recent immigrants in this country. There is a rapid *falling off* in the number of foreign born who arrived in the years 1911-12.²

CHART 3.—IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1911-1919, AND FOREIGN BORN IN 1920, BY YEAR OF IMMIGRATION³ 1911-1919

[Logarithmic scale]



A partial explanation for this apparent anomaly is to be found in the accompanying tabulation, which shows that, considering the difficulty of trans-Atlantic travel during that period, there was a very heavy *reémigration* of aliens during the period 1914-15.³ Since

² Deaths, of course, would have further diminished the number of foreign born remaining in this country in 1920, but there is no reason to suppose that they were unusually heavy during the period 1914-1917; so they may be disregarded in this connection.

³ Since the fiscal year ending June 30 is the unit of tabulation used by the Bureau of Immigration, a portion of the emigration recorded for the year 1915 must have fallen within the year 1914.

the majority of those returning to their mother countries during this period probably did so for the purpose of joining in the World War, they must have been the younger men, who naturally would have predominated among the later arrivals. Hence, it is likely that it is their departure which accounts to a large degree for the extensive and rapid decline in the number of immigrants who had arrived in this country in recent years and were still resident in 1920.

FISCAL YEAR	Departed emigrant aliens ¹	FISCAL YEAR	Departed emigrant aliens ¹	FISCAL YEAR	Departed emigrant aliens ¹
1919.....	123,522	1916.....	129,765	1913.....	308,190
1918.....	94,585	1915.....	204,074	1912.....	233,262
1917.....	66,277	1914.....	303,338	1911.....	295,666

¹ Source: Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, 1920.

2. YEAR OF IMMIGRATION AND TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN BORN

Reference has already been made, in the preceding chapter, to the relationship between the territorial distribution of the immigrant and the year of his arrival in this country. It has been said that, for the country as a whole, no significant correlation exists between these two series of data. Nevertheless, examination of the figures for individual geographic divisions and States and for urban and rural areas yields certain significant results. The material bearing on this portion of the inquiry is summarized in Tables 31, 32, and 33,⁴ all of which deal with the year of immigration of the foreign born by divisions, States, and urban and rural areas, while Tables 34 and 149 show the situation in the different classes of cities.

TABLE 31.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE ACCORDING TO LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	5 years or under	Under 20 years	20 years or over
United States.....	5.4	49.3	41.7
New England.....	6.0	50.0	44.3
Middle Atlantic.....	4.2	55.6	37.5
East North Central.....	3.4	47.0	43.0
West North Central.....	2.8	30.7	56.4
South Atlantic.....	5.6	50.5	36.7
East South Central.....	2.7	31.6	47.4
West South Central.....	22.7	54.6	28.4
Mountain.....	13.8	50.8	38.4
Pacific.....	9.2	47.4	41.6

⁴ Detailed statistics from which these tables are derived are too voluminous to reproduce here, but may be found in the Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. VII.

TABLE 32.—STATES HAVING MORE THAN 50 OR LESS THAN 30 PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION WHO IMMIGRATED IN 1900, OR EARLIER: 1920

STATE	Per cent	STATE	Per cent
More than 50 per cent:		Less than 30 per cent:	
Iowa.....	60.3	Arizona.....	15.5
Minnesota.....	59.0	West Virginia.....	19.7
South Dakota.....	57.9	New Mexico.....	22.0
Nebraska.....	57.8	Texas.....	24.3
Wisconsin.....	57.7		
Kentucky.....	55.0		
Kansas.....	54.1		
Utah.....	52.5		
Idaho.....	50.6		

That it is in the rural portions of these and other States that this older generation of immigrants is found is demonstrated by Table 33, which shows 46.9 per cent of the rural foreign population to be in the group of "old" immigrants, as against 40 per cent for the urban communities.

TABLE 33.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION BY YEAR OF IMMIGRATION, FOR URBAN AND RURAL AREAS: 1920

YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	Number	Per cent	YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	Number	Per cent
Urban, 1920.....	10,350,983	100.0	Rural, 1920.....	3,355,771	100.0
Year of immigration:			Year of immigration:		
1919.....	143,212	1.4	1919.....	55,068	1.7
1918.....	51,529	0.5	1918.....	25,600	0.8
1917.....	77,132	0.7	1917.....	28,927	0.9
1916.....	124,881	1.2	1916.....	42,704	1.3
1915.....	143,457	1.4	1915.....	45,227	1.3
1914.....	358,160	3.5	1914.....	82,647	2.5
1911-1913.....	1,289,714	12.5	1911-1913.....	295,432	8.8
1906-1910.....	1,763,726	17.0	1906-1910.....	430,645	12.8
1901-1905.....	1,428,508	13.8	1901-1905.....	361,872	10.8
1900 or earlier.....	4,144,032	40.0	1900 or earlier.....	1,573,433	46.9
Not reported.....	828,032	8.0	Not reported.....	411,226	12.3

The first group of tables leads to three conclusions, one of them rather striking: First, the "old" immigration seems to be concentrated in rural areas, particularly those situated in the Mississippi Valley; second, the "new" immigration is found chiefly in the far West, the Atlantic seaboard area, and the Southwest; third, certain special factors are operating in the distribution of these recent immigrants, the most notable being expansion of manufactures and mining, the utilization of Mexican agricultural labor in the Southwest, and the invasion of the New England and Middle Atlantic rural areas by relatively fresh arrivals from abroad.

The first generalization is established in Tables 31 to 33. Table 31 shows that the West North Central division is the only one in which over 50 per cent of the foreign whites reached this country 20 or more years before the 1920 census, and Table 32, that all but two

of the States falling in this same category are in the Mississippi Valley.⁵

The cause behind this phenomenon has already been suggested.⁶ The majority of alien migrants in the earlier period passed through the settled, urban areas of the East, and pushed on to the virgin prairies of the Mississippi Basin, where land was to be had for the asking or at very low prices. Once these farm lands had been occupied, however, they offered no attraction to the foreigner, and the immigrant of the past 20 years has settled either in the city or in rural areas in other parts of the country.

It may be noted at this point that the distinction between "old" and "new" immigration regarding residence in urban and rural areas is not so striking as might have been expected. This circumstance is, undoubtedly, due in large measure to the fact that the "old" immigrants, *as counted in the 1920 census*, represent a group of middle-aged and elderly persons, whose numbers have been heavily reduced by deaths in recent years. It is also attributable, in part, to the further fact that those immigrants who have reached this country in the past few years are unexpectedly found to be more prominent in the rural than in the urban population. Table 33 shows that 5.2 per cent of the urban foreign-born white immigrated in the years 1915-1919, but that 6 per cent of the rural reached this country in those years, and this in spite of the urbanizing tendency of the whole population during the war years. The special factors bringing about this result are discussed below. It need only be said here that it serves to emphasize the point made at the close of the preceding chapter, namely, the difficulty of generalizing broadly concerning the characteristics of the immigrant. It has been almost universally assumed that the "new" immigrant has uniformly sought the city, whereas the "old" settled in the country. This analysis shows that such is not by any means the case. The "old" immigrant is predominantly, but not overwhelmingly, rural, and the "new" immigrant—especially the very new—is more heavily represented in the rural regions than is ordinarily supposed.⁷

The *second* point—that is, the relatively high percentage of recent immigrants in the two seaboard regions and in the Southwest—is indicated by Table 31 and needs little further elucidation. Special reference should, however, be made to the States containing an unusually large per cent of "new" immigrants. Table 32 shows that 3 out of the 4 States in which less than 30 per cent of the foreign-born population immigrated 20 or more years ago, are in the

⁵ Utah and Idaho are the States outside this region. The early settlement of those States by Mormon colonists probably accounts for the large proportion of "old" immigrant stock.

⁶ *Supra*, Ch. III, pp. 22 and 42.

⁷ This does not, of course, mean that the actual number of "new" immigrants in the rural areas is greater than in urban areas.

West South Central and Mountain divisions, and Table 31 indicates that it is these two divisions which contain the highest percentage of immigrants arriving 5 years or less before the census.

The *third* feature connected with this portion of the study has to do with the forces behind the territorial distribution of those among the foreign born who have reached this country since 1900. The first of these is the development of manufacturing and mining. It has already been shown that there is some relationship between the development of manufacturing and the concentration of the foreign-born white stock in the various States.⁸ The analysis at this point suggests that this correlation is due, in some degree, to a tendency on the part of the newer arrivals from abroad to settle in those regions where industry is expanding rapidly. The relatively heavy percentage of this class of immigrants in New England and the Middle Atlantic area may very well be in part attributed to such a tendency. It almost certainly is the force behind the fact that Michigan shows a percentage of recent immigrants equal to the average for the country, or above it, for all but two of the years from 1911-1919.

The facts are plainer in regard to the expansion of mining. West Virginia ranks third in the Union in the percentage of foreign born arriving after 1900, and Pennsylvania is fairly well up in the list. It has already been seen that West Virginia has a larger proportion of its population engaged in mining than any other State, and that Pennsylvania ranks fifth in this same respect.⁹ It seems, therefore, reasonable to infer that abundant opportunity for employment in the mines has been an important agency in attracting "new" immigrants to these States. West Virginia is interesting in this regard, for it is not particularly easy of access to the foreign born. It provides a sort of object lesson of the very strong "pull" exerted by economic forces in population distribution.¹⁰

A second and much more clear-cut influence is the utilization of Mexican labor in the Southwest. As indicated above, Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico, and, to a lesser extent, the remaining Mountain and West South Central States, show the highest per cent of recent immigrants in the country. More than this, examination of the census figures reveals a marked increase of this element for the later years of immigration; in fact, those arriving in 1919 constituted 13.5 per cent, 8.6 per cent, and 5.8 per cent, respectively, of the foreign born in these three States, as compared with an aver-

⁸ Cf. *supra*, Ch. III, Tables 26 and 27.

⁹ Cf. Tables 146 and 147. See also, Rossiter, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIV.

¹⁰ It is also possible that the nonunion policy in many West Virginia mines has caused operators to make special efforts to procure immigrant labor, this type of workman being more difficult to unionize than the native born. See Report of Immigration Commission, Vol. I, pp. 530-537.

age for the country at large of only 1.5 per cent. Reference to the statistics of the nationality of the foreign-born population shows, moreover, that this population is overwhelmingly Mexican. The Mexicans make up 56.3 per cent and 21.1 per cent of the foreign-born population in the West South Central and Mountain divisions, respectively, and are 68 per cent of the foreign born in New Mexico, 69.2 per cent in Texas, and 76.4 per cent in Arizona. Again, 74 per cent of the foreign-born Mexicans in the country are concentrated in these two divisions, 68.7 per cent being in the three States just named.

While this remarkable population movement is due, in some degree, to the contiguity of this region to Mexico, yet there must be some additional cause; else why has the Mexican immigration to this region increased so phenomenally in recent years? The additional reason is probably the temporary relaxation of immigration requirements at Mexican border points, in the interest of the agricultural needs of the Southwest, during the years 1918 and 1919. In these two years, 48,342 Mexicans entered this country, as compared with an annual average for the preceding decade of about 10,000. There probably was also an increase in "border running" in this region during these later years.¹¹

This large Mexican immigration, in all likelihood, accounts for much that would otherwise be inexplicable in the distribution of the foreign stock. It certainly goes far toward explaining the surprisingly high percentage of recent immigrants in rural areas, for the Southwest is largely agricultural. Also, it probably furnishes a clue to one of the disturbing factors in the set of correlations which were calculated at the close of Chapter IV. For example, the failure of the series of States arrayed according to population density to correlate either with the series for foreign-born white or foreign white stock is, in all likelihood, due to the fact that this Southwestern group of States, ranking low in population density, ranks high in percentage of foreign-born white.

In both these respects, namely, the relation of immigration to rural population and to population density, these Southwestern States are thrown out of line from the rest of the country by this Mexican immigration. It will, indeed, be found throughout this study that the Mexican immigration in the Southwest constitutes an element different in many important respects from the foreign stock in the rest of the country.

It must not, however, be inferred that the Mexican foreign born are alone responsible for the presence of a relatively high percentage of recent immigrants in rural areas. Such a conclusion would disregard the third—and, in some respects, the most interesting—of the

¹¹ Report of Commissioner General of Immigration for 1920, pp. 24, 184, 185. The "years" referred to above are fiscal years.

factors controlling the location of the "new" immigration. This is the recent entrance of the foreign born into the rural regions of the Middle Atlantic and New England divisions. It appears that the per cent of the foreign born who have migrated subsequent to 1900 is substantially higher in the rural areas of these two divisions than in the country at large.¹² The New England group is particularly interesting in this respect. In three out of the six New England States, the rural foreign-born population contains a higher proportion of recent immigrants than does the country as a whole. Again, statistics for the period 1911-1919 show that, in the State of Vermont, the percentage is considerably higher than that for the United States, while, for Massachusetts and Rhode Island, it is considerably lower.

The explanation that at once suggests itself is the steady replacement of native American farmers by foreigners in these sections of the country. Support is given to this hypothesis by study of the population increase and decrease for each State. Of the three New England States which showed a high per cent of recent immigrants in their rural population, two, namely, Maine and Vermont, showed a very small increase, or a decrease, in population, during the decade 1910-1920. More than this, Vermont, a State which has suffered a decrease in total population, shows the highest percentage of recent immigrants in its rural population of all the New England States. Finally, reference to increase and decrease by counties brings out an unmistakable tendency on the part of the rural counties, in these and other States, to bear the burden of population decrease.¹³

On the other hand, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, which are highly urbanized States, and have not been affected as a whole by the depletion of their rural areas, are the only New England States in which the rural population does not show an especially significant number of very recent immigrants. Briefly, there appears to be an unusually large proportion of recent immigrants in those rural areas whose population as a whole has been diminishing.

Additional information is supplied by the census report on agriculture, which shows the farm population of New England to be 12.4 per cent foreign-born white, compared with 4.7 per cent for the United States, a figure exceeded in only one other group, namely, the Pacific States.¹⁴ Examination of the nationality of the foreign element in these regions is illuminating. As is shown later,¹⁵ the foreign-born white population of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont is largely Canadian born, the French Canadians being 33.1

¹² Cf. Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. VII, Tables 4, 5, and 10.

¹³ Rossiter, *op. cit.*, Chs. III, IV, and V.

¹⁴ Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. V, Ch. XIV, Table 7.

¹⁵ Table 160, p. 348.

per cent of the total in Maine, 42 per cent in New Hampshire, and 31.8 per cent in Vermont, while the "other" Canadians are 35.9 per cent, 15.3 per cent, and 24 per cent, respectively, making a total of 69 per cent, 57.3 per cent, and 55.8 per cent Canadian born in these three States.

In the rest of the region, the central, east, and south Europeans bulk large. Thus, they make up but 37.6 per cent of the foreign-born white in New England, as compared with 62.5 per cent in the Middle Atlantic group. The examination of individual States shows that they constitute 66.6 per cent of the foreign-born white population in Pennsylvania, 61.3 per cent in New York, 59.5 per cent in New Jersey, 58.4 per cent in Connecticut, and about 35 per cent in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Keeping in mind the fact that these nationality groups predominate among the more recently arrived immigrants, it seems reasonable to conclude that, wherever in the rural foreign-born population of these States there is an unusually large number of immigrants who have been here 20 years or less, they are either Canadians or southern and eastern Europeans.

Apparently, in New England, as the native American farmer "sells out," he is replaced by a foreigner, and usually by one lately come from Canada or southeastern Europe. The failure of these newcomers completely to compensate in numbers for the loss of the native stock is probably due in part to a "lag" between the giving up of a farm by one owner and its reoccupation by another, and in part, to the complete abandonment of the less productive, or "submarginal" farms, or their consolidation with other farms.

At present this conclusion rests upon too narrow a foundation of facts to be laid down more than tentatively. Should it be firmly established by further analysis, it may well prove to be one of the most profoundly significant deductions made in this monograph. In the first place, it means that there is a possibility that perhaps the most typically "American" population in the country is being replaced by a group of recently arrived foreigners. This country is accustomed to large agglomerations of foreigners in the great cities; it is now within the realm of possibility that it may see many of the villages and farms of rural New England, and of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania as well, pass from the hands of the descendants of the Colonial Americans into the possession of a new breed from across the Canadian border and from the shores of the Baltic and Mediterranean. And, if this movement continues, it is bound to cause profoundly significant repercussions in the social history of the American people.

In the second place, this situation calls attention to a hitherto neglected phase of the immigration question, that is, the heavy infiltration of Canadians into the northern border States of this

country. Just as the Mexican migration into the Southwest creates a set of immigration problems almost distinct from those found elsewhere, so the Canadian migration across the New England border is bringing about another peculiar group of phenomena.

In the third place, the presence of considerable numbers of typical "new" immigrants—that is, eastern and southern Europeans—in such rural areas as are not overrun by Canadians brings out once more the fallacy of overgeneralization concerning this group. This region is one of the few left in the United States where farm land has been sufficiently cheap and accessible to be available to the recent immigrant, and it appears that he is beginning to avail himself of this opportunity. So far as this is the case, it suggests that the predominance of the "old" northern and western European stock in the country and of the "new" southern and eastern stock in the cities is due not so much to any inherent difference in preference or capacity between the two groups as to the fact that the "old" immigrants reached this country at a time when it offered the newcomer almost unexampled opportunities for acquiring farm lands, and to the further fact that no prospects in any way comparable to these lie open to the present generation of southern and eastern Europeans. The analysis in a subsequent chapter verifies this conclusion, namely, that settlement in the city or the country is a result more of opportunity than of ethnic idiosyncrasy.

There remains to be considered the relationship between the year of immigration of the foreign-born population and its settlement in different classes of cities. Tables 34 and 149 contain the information bearing on this point. They show apparently opposite tendencies. The first is the concentration in the larger cities of the newer immigrants. The second is the relative importance in the moderately large cities of the more recently arrived among these immigrants.

The first tendency can be readily discerned. As the cities increase in size, they show a general decline in the percentage of those foreign born whose immigration occurred 20 years or more ago.

TABLE 34.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION BY YEAR OF IMMIGRATION, FOR DIFFERENT CLASSES OF CITIES: 1920

YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	IN CITIES OF—			
	2,500 to 25,000	25,000 to 100,000	100,000 to 250,000	250,000 or more
Total, 1920.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1915-1919.....	5.6	5.9	6.3	4.7
1905-1914.....	41.3	45.6	44.8	49.6
1900 or earlier.....	42.6	39.8	41.3	38.8
Not reported.....	10.4	8.7	7.6	6.9

The *second* and somewhat contradictory tendency is equally plain. While the percentage of foreign-born white arriving during the years 1901-1914 increases proportionately to the size of the cities, the percentage of those who reached America in the years 1915-1919 shows no such regular progression. On the contrary, the smallest percentage is for the largest cities, and the largest percentage, namely 6.3, is for the moderately large cities of from 100,000 to 250,000.

A possible clue to this puzzling assortment of facts is found in the rate of increase of the various classes of cities. During the decade 1910-1920 cities of 2,500 to 25,000 grew at the rate of 23 per cent, those of 25,000 to 100,000, at the rate of 33 per cent, but those of 100,000 and over at the rate of only 24.9 per cent. In fact, New York City, with a population of 5,620,000, increased at a rate of but 17.9 per cent.¹⁶

Some relationship thus appears to exist between a city's rate of growth and the recentcy of immigration among its foreign born. But, whether it is that the moderately large cities are the centers of the greatest industrial expansion, and hence hold out the largest economic inducements to the foreign born, or whether it is that they find maintenance costs cheaper and living conditions more congenial in these places, and so contribute to their more rapid growth, it is impossible to determine on the basis of the present analysis.

Whatever the cause, it is clear that—contrary, once more, to general belief—though it is still the very large urban centers in which the immigrant of the present time is most heavily represented, those ranging from 100,000 to 250,000 in population seem to have attracted a large proportion of the later immigration.

In general, therefore, classification of the foreign born by year of immigration and by place of residence shows the present generation to be in the large cities, and in the West, Southwest, and East; the older generation, in the Mississippi Basin, and in rural areas or smaller cities. There are, however, many cross currents, running counter to these broad tendencies. The Mexicans, in the Southwest, and the Canadians and immigrants from southeastern Europe, in the East, are occupying rural areas; and the largest cities are running behind the moderately large ones in attracting the most recent of the foreign born.

3. YEAR OF IMMIGRATION, AND RACE, NATIONALITY, AND LANGUAGE GROUPING

At the beginning of this chapter reference was made to the value of studying the relation between the year of immigration and the country of birth of the foreign born, especially because of the light which such a classification could throw upon the composition of the "old" and "new" immigration.

¹⁶ Rosstter, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

The United States census reports present no statistics which would provide material for any exhaustive analysis of the data bearing upon this question. Nevertheless, two types of material are available. The first refers to the principal race stocks, such as White, Negro, Indian, and Oriental immigrants. The second contains a limited body of information concerning the nationality, race, and language groups among the white immigrant population.

Table 35 presents the facts relative to the first topic.

TABLE 35.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, BY RACE AND YEAR OF IMMIGRATION, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920 AND 1910

YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	COLOR OR RACE					
	All classes	White	Negro	Indian	Chinese	Japanese
Total, 1920.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Year of immigration:						
1919.....	1.5	1.5	8.0	10.2	2.6	6.2
1918.....	0.0	0.6	4.0	0.8	1.4	4.9
1917.....	0.8	0.8	6.1	0.9	2.2	5.1
1916.....	1.3	1.2	5.0	8.9	2.3	5.1
1915.....	1.5	1.4	4.4	6.9	3.0	5.4
1914.....	3.2	3.2	5.1	4.9	2.7	4.6
1911-1913.....	11.5	11.6	11.8	7.9	5.8	9.2
1906-1910.....	16.0	16.0	14.6	8.0	10.7	22.3
1901-1905.....	13.0	13.1	8.4	5.1	6.1	17.9
1900 or earlier.....	41.4	41.7	13.7	13.3	52.6	12.3
Not reported.....	9.1	9.0	17.9	21.2	10.6	7.0
Total, 1910.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Year of immigration:						
1910, to Apr. 15.....	1.7	1.7	1.8	5.1	0.6	0.7
1909.....	4.3	4.3	5.8	3.7	2.5	2.4
1908.....	3.1	3.0	5.2	1.6	2.3	5.0
1907.....	6.2	6.2	6.4	1.2	1.7	12.1
1906.....	4.7	4.7	6.3	2.0	1.2	15.0
1905.....	3.9	3.9	5.3	1.5	1.0	11.4
1901-1904.....	11.1	11.1	13.8	6.2	3.3	25.9
1896-1900.....	7.9	7.8	10.0	5.3	6.6	13.7
1891-1895.....	8.6	8.6	8.7	4.8	7.5	2.6
1890 or earlier.....	39.6	39.7	19.0	25.2	61.6	2.8
Not reported.....	9.9	9.9	9.7	43.6	11.8	8.6
Period of immigration, including distribution of immigrants for whom year was not reported ¹						
FOURTEENTH CENSUS						
Total, 1920.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1911-1919.....	22.5	22.2	55.3	65.3	22.4	43.5
1910-1919.....	4.7	4.4	29.4	41.0	9.5	22.8
1911-1915.....	17.8	17.8	25.9	23.7	12.9	20.7
1901-1910.....	31.9	31.9	28.0	17.8	18.8	43.2
1906-1910.....	17.6	17.6	17.8	11.3	12.0	24.0
1901-1905.....	14.3	14.3	10.2	6.6	6.8	19.2
1900 or earlier.....	45.6	45.9	16.7	16.9	58.7	13.3
THIRTEENTH CENSUS						
Total, 1910.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1901-1910, to Apr. 15.....	37.7	37.5	55.5	36.9	14.3	70.2
1906-1910, to Apr. 15.....	21.0	20.9	31.7	23.4	9.4	38.5
1901-1905.....	16.7	16.6	23.8	13.5	4.0	40.8
1900 or earlier.....	62.3	62.5	44.5	68.1	85.7	20.8

¹ This distribution was made on the assumption that the proportions arriving during each period of years were the same for the immigrants for whom the year was not reported as for those for whom data were received.

One significant feature is brought out by this table in relation to the foreign-born negroes enumerated in 1920 (73,803), and that is the large proportion of them who have reached this country in recent years.

Examination of Table 35 indicates that only 13.7 per cent of the foreign-born negroes reached the United States before 1901, as contrasted with 41.7 per cent for the foreign-born white. More than this, there is evidence of an especially heavy accumulation of this element for the last half decade preceding the census, 28.4 per cent of negro immigrants having arrived in the years 1915-1919, whereas a bare 5.5 per cent of the foreign white did so.

The territorial distribution of those newly migrated negroes is also noteworthy. It appears that, throughout the period in question, the bulk of negro immigrants had settled in New York, Florida, and Massachusetts, particularly those arriving in 1917, 1918, and 1919.¹⁷

The source of this immigration is disclosed by Table 150. Apparently, this late addition to the Nation's negro stock has come, not from Africa, but chiefly from the West Indies. For, whereas, during the period 1830 to 1879, immigration from these islands averaged about 12,000 per decade, a sharp increase set in about 1880, which continued at an increasing rate, until the decades 1900-1909 and 1910-1919 witnessed the entrance into this country of over 100,000 and 120,000, respectively.¹⁸ Since the population of the West Indies is overwhelmingly negro,¹⁹ it is reasonable to suppose that the foreigners coming here from those islands were likewise largely of negro stock.

The chances are, furthermore, that this recent influx of negroes is heavily underreported, for migrants born in possessions of the United States are not counted as foreign born. The population of Porto Rico contains 27 per cent²⁰ negroes (including mulattoes) and that of the Virgin Islands includes a much larger percentage; hence, there is every likelihood that these islands are contributing an additional quota of negroes to continental United States entirely comparable in size to that furnished by the other islands in the West Indies.

One further fact may be observed in connection with Table 158. This West Indian negro population is either very short-lived or very largely composed of "birds of passage," for, whereas about 91,000 negroes reached our shores during the years 1900-1919 only about 50,000 foreign-born negroes were enumerated in 1920 as having immigrated after 1900. In view of the fact that this group is concen-

¹⁷ Cf. Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. VII, Table 8.

¹⁸ Central America and the Atlantic Islands have also furnished large contingents. Cf. *infra*, Ch. V, p. 103.

¹⁹ Cf. p. 142, Negro Year Book, 1918-19, Monroe N. Work, editor: Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1919. Cf., also, Foerster, *op. cit.*

²⁰ Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. III, p. 11. The Canal Zone in 1920 had 56.8 per cent negroes in its civilian population, but only 15.1 per cent were native born. Vol. III, p. 1244.

trated in coastal States, such as Florida, Massachusetts, and New York, it is likely that reémigration is the factor mainly responsible for the remarkable rapidity with which its numbers have been reduced.

Nothing has yet been said concerning the causes behind this phenomenon, and very little that is not conjecture can be said. Presumably, two forces have been operative. The first is the relatively rapid improvement of facilities for communication with the West Indian Islands, consequent upon the development of trade in fruit and sugar between them and the United States. It is noteworthy, in this connection, that the foreign-born negro population is concentrated in the three States in which a large part of the West Indian traffic is carried on.

A second factor which might account for the sudden increase in negro immigration during the past 10 years is, in all likelihood, the acute labor shortage felt by this country because of the virtual cessation of European immigration during the World War, and—later—because of this country's participation in the war. As pointed out earlier in this section, a heavy Mexican immigration took place during this same period, and it is probable that, in a similar fashion, the West Indies fulfilled the rôle of an easily accessible reservoir of labor power.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that this movement will probably continue, though on a somewhat smaller scale. As American industry expands, and as restrictive legislation curtails the number of Europeans who would otherwise enter the labor market, every possible additional source of supply will be tapped. So far as the French and British West Indies and the Haitian and Dominican Republics are concerned, restrictive legislation may cut down migration from them as well as from Europe, but within the limits set by the restrictions a steady influx from them may be expected. More than this, Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, being United States territory, do not fall within the scope of such restriction.

Discussion of the significance of this new negro migration must wait upon the further analysis of the question that comes later in this chapter.

The material bearing on the *second* portion of this aspect of the analysis of the year of immigration of the foreign born, namely, the relation of year of immigration to nationality, ethnic, and language grouping, is contained in Tables 36 to 40 and 150 to 154.

As already stated, no thorough discussion of this highly important subject can be undertaken because of the limited nature of the census tabulations at this point. Certain indirect data are, however,

furnished by Tables 36, 37, and 150, while the remaining tables embody the results of a special tabulation, made for the purpose of this monograph, concerning some 3,700,000 foreign-born white persons of 15 ethnic and language groups, and embracing 4 States and 4 large cities.

Three tendencies are manifested by these tables. The first is the clear-cut distinction between the "old" or northern and western European immigration and the "new" or southern and eastern immigration, with, however, two notable exceptions. The second is the steady shifting in numerical prominence from one nationality to another. The third is the heavy increase in the last few years of Mexican and Canadian immigration.

The *first* conclusion concerning the "old" and "new" immigration is readily discerned in Tables 36, 37, and 38. From Table 36 it is evident that during the decade 1880-1889 there set in a swift transition in the nationalities of the immigrants to this country, those from northern and western Europe giving way to those from southern and eastern Europe. The table shows further, that this change has continued until, during the 10 years preceding the last census, the northern and western Europeans furnished only 17.5 per cent of the total immigration as against 62 per cent for the other Europeans.

Table 38 derives similar conclusions from a different body of data. It arrays the 15 European race and language groups included in the special tabulation referred to above according to those originating in north and west Europe and those originating in south and east Europe and, further, according to the percentage of each group immigrating before 1901.²¹ It shows that, of those immigrants from northern and western Europe included in the tabulation, who were living in the United States in 1920, over 50 per cent had come before 1901, in 5 out of the 6 groups represented. On the contrary, in 5 of the 6 southern and eastern European foreign-born race and language groups shown as resident in this country in 1920, less than 30 per cent of them had been in this country before 1901. Nevertheless, reference to Table 38 shows two national groups to be out of line with the others. The English immigrants are not, on the whole, of such long standing as the other northern and western Europeans, and the Bohemians and Moravians²² have had so many representatives here for 20 years or longer as to be entirely comparable with the "old" immigrants. Indeed, the latter show a higher percentage of their number to have been in the United States before 1901 than do the English.

²¹ Table 37 contains the material upon which Table 38 is based.

²² Or Czechs.

TABLE 36.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY REGION OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE, BY DECADES: 1820-1919¹

REGION	DECADES									
	1810 to 1819	1820 to 1829	1830 to 1839	1840 to 1849	1850 to 1859	1860 to 1869	1870 to 1879	1880 to 1889	1890 to 1899	1900 to 1909
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Northern and western Europe (including Germany).....	17.5	22.1	49.4	72.5	75.8	82.5	90.3	95.6	77.5	74.7
Other Europe.....	62.1	71.0	47.5	16.0	6.3	8.0	2.8	0.3	1.1	2.0
All other.....	20.3	6.9	3.1	11.0	17.9	8.9	6.9	4.1	21.5	22.7

¹ For sources, see Table 150.

TABLE 37.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY YEAR OF IMMIGRATION OF SELECTED GROUPS OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, IN CERTAIN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS: 1920

[For composition of areas considered, see Table 151]

YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE							
	Total	England, Scotland, and Wales (English and Celtic)	Ireland (English and Celtic)	Canada (English and Celtic)	Canada (French)	Sweden (Swed- ish)	Norway (Nor- wegian)	Den- mark (Dan- ish)
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1919.....	1.3	2.7	0.4	4.3	3.4	0.9	0.9	1.6
1918.....	0.4	0.4	0.1	1.4	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.5
1917.....	0.6	0.5	0.2	1.4	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.9
1916.....	1.0	1.1	0.7	2.2	1.8	1.1	0.9	1.4
1915.....	1.3	1.4	1.1	2.1	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.3
1914.....	3.3	2.3	1.8	1.8	1.0	1.0	1.4	2.2
1911-1913.....	11.5	8.9	6.0	4.0	2.8	5.8	4.1	6.9
1906-1910.....	17.1	14.8	10.0	8.3	8.1	10.3	11.2	19.8
1901-1905.....	14.7	8.7	9.6	7.9	7.0	13.2	14.2	11.0
1900 or earlier.....	41.8	47.0	59.4	49.9	60.8	57.3	55.5	51.7
Not reported.....	7.1	11.1	9.8	16.7	11.4	7.9	10.0	8.8

YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE—continued				MOTHER TONGUE—ALL COUNTRIES			
	Russia (Russian)	Bohemia and Moravia (Czech)	Mexico (Spanish)	Italy (Italian)	German	Polish	Slovak	Yiddish
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1919.....	0.5	0.2	17.8	2.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2
1918.....	0.3	0.1	7.0	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
1917.....	0.5	0.1	8.4	0.8	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3
1916.....	0.8	0.3	10.4	1.5	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.6
1915.....	1.3	0.0	8.4	2.0	0.5	0.9	0.9	1.1
1914.....	5.5	2.3	5.6	4.5	2.0	5.1	4.7	4.3
1911-1913.....	18.3	10.6	8.9	15.5	6.3	22.6	21.2	15.2
1906-1910.....	23.7	16.7	10.6	22.4	9.6	23.8	20.0	25.4
1901-1905.....	18.7	15.2	5.3	20.8	8.5	15.7	21.8	22.0
1900 or earlier.....	25.5	48.4	9.0	26.0	63.4	29.3	17.0	27.0
Not reported.....	4.9	5.5	8.1	4.0	9.1	4.8	4.4	3.0

It appears, moreover, from Table 37, that a higher percentage of the English resident in the United States, in 1920, had arrived during the years 1918 and 1919 than in any other European group, "old" or "new." Clearly, English immigration has held up with considerable strength throughout the past 100 years, in contradistinction to other elements in the "old" immigration. So far is this the case that Table 150 shows England, Scotland, and Wales together to have furnished considerably more than one-third of the total north and west European immigration reaching this country in the decade 1910-1919.

In fact, as is brought out in the analysis of the nationality, race, and language composition of the foreign stock that follows this portion of the discussion, there are several racial and national groups which fail to correspond to the tendency manifested by the "old" immigration as a whole. Excepting the German and, to a slightly lesser extent, the Irish, the other north and west European peoples display a considerable variance from the trend manifested by the totality of the "old" immigrants.²³

It is more appropriate to discuss the full significance of these conclusions in connection with the data upon which they are based than at this portion of the study. It may, however, be pointed out here that the widely accepted division of the American foreign population into "old" and "new" immigrant stocks, while generally useful as a convenient summary expression, is neither so uniformly accurate nor so universally applicable as many students would seem to regard it.

TABLE 38.—FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FROM NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE AND CENTRAL, SOUTHERN, AND EASTERN EUROPE, ACCORDING TO PER CENT IMMIGRATING BEFORE 1901, FOR SELECTED GROUPS IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS: 1920

REGION OF ORIGIN OR MOTHER TONGUE	Per cent	REGION OF ORIGIN OR MOTHER TONGUE	Per cent
Northern and western Europe:		Central, southern, and eastern Europe:	
German.....	63.4	Slovak.....	17.0
Ireland.....	50.4	Russia (Russian).....	25.5
Sweden.....	57.3	Italy.....	26.0
Norway.....	55.5	Polish.....	26.3
Denmark.....	54.7	Yiddish.....	27.0
England.....	47.9	Czech.....	48.4

The *second* tendency demonstrated by these tables is the rapid passing from one nationality to another of the leading position in immigration, and, by the same token, in the nativity of the foreign born. The facts are summarized in Table 39. This table reveals the process already described, namely, the taking of the lead from the immigrants coming from north and west European countries by those coming from the south and east. Thus during the period

²³ Cf. *infra* Chart 4, p. 77.

The figures regarding the Mexicans are truly remarkable. Barely 9 per cent of the Mexican population in this country has been here for over 20 years, and over 52 per cent crossed the border since 1915. In this respect the Mexican population is unique among white immigrants, the foreign-born Indians being the only other population group showing such a high proportion of very recent arrivals. The causes of this recent influx of Mexicans have already been discussed. It may be added that the present quota limitation laws do not apply either to the Canadians or Mexicans; so that, with a continued expansion of industry, and a continued curtailment of immigration from the countries of Europe through restrictive legislation, there is every reason to suppose that these elements will keep on coming into the Northeastern and Southwestern border States. Attention should also be called to the dovetailing of the facts brought out here regarding Mexican and Canadian migration with those adduced above in connection with the heavy settlement of recent immigrants in the rural areas of the Southwestern and Northeastern sections of the country.

4. INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN YEAR OF IMMIGRATION, TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION, AND NATIONALITY, RACE, AND LANGUAGE GROUP

Abundant evidence has already accumulated to show that the foreign population of this country is responding in its territorial distribution to a complexly related set of conditions. As the analysis at the close of the preceding chapter showed, there seems to be no single cause primarily controlling the settlement of the immigrant and his children, but, rather, there appears to be a group of related causes all acting simultaneously, and all reacting upon each other. It is accordingly to be expected that the several factors examined in the foregoing discussion would, in some respects, show a reciprocal relation to each other, and to the tendencies brought out previously.

At least one instance of such a tendency is discernible. There appears to be a certain degree of correspondence between the territorial distribution of the foreign-born white according to region of origin, and according to year of immigration, *as regards the "old" immigration only*. Table 40 and Tables 151 to 154 embody the material bearing on this point.

In Table 40 are shown the first 10 among the States according to the percentage of foreign-born white born in northern and western Europe and central, eastern, and southern Europe, and according to the per cent immigrating in 1900 or earlier, and after 1900. The table also presents "rank" coefficients of correlation for the per cent in all States born in northern and western Europe and the per

cent immigrating in 1900 or earlier, and for the per cent born elsewhere in Europe and the per cent emigrating after 1900. Besides the crude coefficients based on the ranking of all the States, adjusted coefficients are presented based on all States except those having an unusual per cent of Canadian or Mexican foreign born.

TABLE 40.—FIRST 10 STATES AND "RANK" COEFFICIENT OF CORRELATION OF PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, RANKED ACCORDING TO YEAR OF IMMIGRATION AND REGION OF BIRTH

[Derived from Table 154]

FIRST 10 STATES RANKED ACCORDING TO PER CENT OF FOREIGN BORN			
Born in northern and western Europe (including Germany)	Immigrating in 1900 or earlier	Born in other Europe	Immigrating after 1900
Iowa Utah South Dakota Minnesota Kentucky Idaho Nebraska Wisconsin Washington Arkansas	Iowa Minnesota South Dakota Nebraska Wisconsin Kentucky Kansas Utah Idaho North Dakota	West Virginia Pennsylvania New York Delaware Ohio New Jersey Maryland Connecticut Louisiana Illinois	Arizona New Mexico West Virginia Texas Pennsylvania Ohio Connecticut New York New Jersey Delaware

RANK COEFFICIENT OF CORRELATION (ALL STATES)

Per cent born in northern and western Europe with per cent immigrating in 1900 and earlier, all States.....	+ .695±.050
Per cent born in other Europe with per cent immigrating after 1900, all States.....	+ .284±.089
Per cent born in northern and western Europe with per cent immigrating in 1900 and earlier, omitting certain States ¹	+ .688±.054
Per cent born in other Europe with per cent immigrating after 1900, omitting certain States ¹	+ .499±.077

¹ States omitted, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.

As just suggested, it is obvious that there is a positive and significant correlation, as regards the "old" immigration. Of the first 10 States, ranked according to per cent born in northern and western Europe, 8 are found in the first 10 ranked according to per cent immigrating in 1900 or earlier. The coefficients based on all the States in each series is $+ .695 \pm .050$, while the adjusted coefficient is $+ .688 \pm .054$.

Nevertheless, the correlation does not, as might be expected, extend to the southern and eastern European nationality groups, and to the foreign born who arrived after 1900, that is, to the "new" immigrants. There are only 6 States common to the first 10 in each column, and the coefficients of correlation are only $+ .284 \pm .089$ for all the States and $+ .499 \pm .077$ for the selected States. When it is borne in mind that the selection of States entering into the adjusted correlation is made specifically to eliminate the distortion due to the Mexicans and Canadians among the recent immigrants, the failure of the two series to show more than a suggestion of correlation despite that adjustment is particularly striking.

1. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGN STOCK

In Chapter III it was pointed out that the census carries the classification of the foreign stock through two generations only—that is, the foreign born and the native born of foreign or mixed parentage.¹ As shown in the same chapter, the author of another monograph in this series has found it possible partially to overcome the inadequacy in the data resulting from this practice, and to estimate the magnitude of that more inclusively defined foreign stock, which consists of the descendants of all immigrants reaching this country subsequent to 1790. This calculation did not, however, attempt any subdivision of the foreign stock, as thus determined, into its constituent national or ethnic elements.

Therefore, excepting for one calculation of limited scope, it has not seemed wise to carry the study of the ethnic and nationality structure of the foreign stock beyond the census classification. The material available permits two sorts of analyses: First, the study of the foreign-born white population on the basis of country of birth, and, second, the determination of the country of origin of the total foreign white stock. In addition, it is possible to arrive by calculation at a third type of data, the number of children of the native born of foreign or mixed parentage in the United States, as of the year 1900.

Before the discussion may proceed, however, cognizance must be taken of a complicating factor to which brief reference has already been made. This is the boundary changes following the World War. Not less than 25 countries have undergone territorial changes as a result of the war, many of them involving thousands of square miles.² The consequence is, of course, that the data for the foreign-born white as of 1920 are largely incomparable with those based on previous censuses. Indeed, certain countries, such as Lithuania and Czechoslovakia, have been created from territory formerly belonging to other powers, and do not appear at all as countries of origin of the foreign white stock before 1920. It would be possible to recompute the figures for 1920 so as to permit comparison with the earlier tabulations. Such a procedure would, however, necessarily involve arbitrary assumptions and give to the resulting figures an unwarranted appearance of accuracy. Moreover, for the purpose of future studies, it would make this portion of the monograph of little value, since it is to be expected that, for a considerable period, the present boundary lines will persist and will form the basis for census tabulations. It therefore seems best frankly to recognize a complete "break" in the data, beginning with the census of 1920, and to keep it in mind throughout the tabulations and analyses based on such data.

¹ See also Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Chs. VI and IX.

² Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. VI, p. 687.

There is, however, one feature in which some adjustment of this sort seems desirable, namely, the country of origin of the native born of foreign or mixed parentage. The parents of most of this group migrated from Europe prior to the events that have made over the map of Europe, and any attempt to distribute them among the countries as now constituted would involve so many unverifiable estimates as to render the results unreliable. Consequently, for this class, as well as for the total foreign white stock, of which it forms the dominant element, the pre-war classification of the countries of origin is retained.

The *first* point to be examined is the country of birth of the foreign-born population. Tables 41 to 45 and 155 and Chart 4 show the situation for 1920 and for previous census years.³

The outstanding feature in the present distribution of the foreign-born white is the preponderance of European-born immigrants, especially of those originating in central, southern, and eastern Europe. Of the 13 millions and more of foreign-born white included in Table 41, some 86 per cent, or about 12,000,000, were born in Europe, and 46 per cent, or about 6,350,000, were born in central, southern, and eastern Europe, leaving 40 per cent, or about 5,500,000, who originated in northern and western Europe. Of the remainder, the majority came from America, 12.1 per cent, or about 1,600,000, having been born in Central and South America, the West Indies, Canada, or Mexico. The number of our foreign whites born in Asia and other parts of the world is negligible.

Examination of the separate nationalities in Table 41 and of the 10 leading nationalities in Table 42 emphasizes the numerical importance among the foreign born of the European peoples, although the large number of Germans remaining from earlier waves of immigration somewhat obscures the predominance of the central, southern, and eastern Europeans. Nevertheless, the four leading nationalities from the latter region slightly outnumber the four most numerous represented northwestern European countries of birth, the Italian, Russian, Polish, and Austrian composing 34.4 per cent of the total foreign-born white, as against a combined percentage of 30.4 per cent for the German, Irish, English, and Swedish.

As stated earlier in this chapter, it is the northern and western European stock that constitutes the so-called "old" immigration, and the central, southern, and eastern European, from which most of the "new" immigration is drawn.⁴ In terms of this classification, it is manifest from the foregoing that the "new" immigration is clearly in the ascendancy among the foreign-born white population,

³ See also Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. VI.

⁴ It includes also the Levantine Asiatic.

although the most numerous of the "old" immigration, to wit, the German element, still maintains a slight lead over every other single national group.

TABLE 41.—COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

COUNTRY OF BIRTH, POSTWAR BOUNDARIES	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION: 1920		COUNTRY OF BIRTH, POSTWAR BOUNDARIES	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION: 1920	
	Number	Per cent distrib- ution		Number	Per cent distrib- ution
All countries.....	13,712,754	100.0	Central, southern, and east- ern Europe—Continued.		
Europe.....	11,877,991	86.6	Greece.....	175,972	1.3
Northwestern Europe.....	5,514,978	40.2	Albania.....	5,008	(¹)
England.....	812,828	5.9	Italy.....	1,610,109	11.7
Scotland.....	254,637	1.9	Spain.....	49,247	0.4
Wales.....	97,666	0.5	Portugal.....	67,453	0.5
Ireland.....	1,037,233	7.6	Other Europe ²	5,901	(¹)
Norway.....	309,582	2.7	Asia.....	110,450	0.8
Sweden.....	625,580	4.6	Armenia.....	36,626	0.3
Denmark.....	189,154	1.4	Palestine.....	3,202	(¹)
Netherlands.....	131,766	1.0	Syria.....	51,900	0.4
Belgium.....	62,686	0.5	Turkey in Asia.....	11,014	0.1
Luxemburg.....	12,685	0.1	Other Asia.....	7,708	0.1
Switzerland.....	118,650	0.9	America.....	1,656,801	12.1
France.....	118,569	0.9	Canada—French.....	307,786	2.2
Alsace-Lorraine.....	34,321	0.3	Canada—Other.....	810,002	5.9
Germany.....	1,686,102	12.3	Newfoundland.....	13,242	0.1
Central, southern, and east- ern Europe.....	6,357,112	46.4	Mexico.....	478,383	3.5
Poland.....	1,139,978	8.3	West Indies ³	26,369	0.2
Czechoslovakia.....	262,436	2.6	Central and South America.....	20,929	0.2
Austria.....	575,625	4.2	Other countries.....	67,512	0.5
Hungary.....	397,232	2.9	Atlantic Islands.....	38,084	0.3
Yugoslavia.....	169,437	1.2	Australia.....	10,801	0.1
Russia.....	1,400,489	10.2	All other.....	17,727	0.1
Lithuania.....	135,063	1.0			
Finland.....	149,824	1.1			
Rumania.....	102,823	0.7			
Bulgaria.....	10,477	0.1			
Turkey in Europe.....	5,284	(¹)			

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

² Comprises Danzig, Flume, Saar Basin, and "Europe, not specified."

³ Except possessions of the United States.

TABLE 42.—FIRST 10 COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

Rank	COUNTRY OF BIRTH, POSTWAR BOUNDARIES	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION: 1920	
		Number	Per cent of total
1	Germany.....	1,686,102	12.3
2	Italy.....	1,610,109	11.7
3	Russia.....	1,400,489	10.2
4	Poland.....	1,139,978	8.3
5	Canada (French and "Other").....	1,117,878	8.1
6	Ireland.....	1,037,233	7.6
7	England.....	812,828	5.9
8	Sweden.....	625,580	4.6
9	Austria.....	575,625	4.2
10	Mexico.....	478,383	3.5

Special note should be taken of that portion of the foreign-born white population tabulated as Russian, for this group is probably the most ambiguously classified of any in the census. It is made up only to a certain degree of true Russians, in the ethnic sense, and consists principally of Hebrews who happen to have been born within the limits of Russia.⁵

The enumeration of immigrants born in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, and Albania is also of particular interest. All of these countries were created as separate political entities after the World War; so that an adequate count of the number of their natives resident in this country appears for the first time in the present census. Their combined contribution to the foreign-born white population is noteworthy—over 1,800,000, or 13.1 per cent of the total. It is interesting to speculate as to how large a proportion of the "Germans," "Austro-Hungarians," "Russians," and "Greeks" of previous censuses would have been enumerated otherwise, if the present basis of classification had been used.⁶

Among the non-European foreign born, those coming from North America are, as has been stated, most numerous. The two countries most heavily represented are Canada and Mexico. The Canadians—French and non-French—are, in fact, among the first five nationalities in the foreign-born group, amounting to 1,117,878, or 8.1 per cent of the total foreign-born white population. The Mexicans are tenth, having slightly less than 480,000, and composing 3.5 per cent of the total. It should be borne in mind, however, that the heavy territorial concentration of both Canadian and Mexican born immigrants makes them of far greater ethnic and sociological importance, in the regions where they are settled, than their ranking in the total foreign-born population would suggest.

A comparison of the relative position of the foreign-born national groups in the present census with previous censuses has been made in the preceding chapter.⁷ Tables 43, 44, and 45, and Chart 4 furnish additional material. In the case of the European immigrants, both Tables 43 and 44 reveal the same swift and steady transition from "old" to "new" already noted. From Table 43 it appears that, whereas, in 1850, the northern and western Europeans made up 90 per cent of the total foreign born, as against 0.5 per cent for central, eastern, and southern Europeans, in 1880 the former had dropped to 81.7 per cent and the latter had risen to 4.3 per cent, and in

⁵ In 1920, 56.5 per cent of the Russian-born population was reported as of "Yiddish and Hebrew" mother tongue.

⁶ It should be remembered that Yugoslavia includes what was formerly Serbia and Montenegro.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, Ch. IV, Table 39.

1920 the percentages were 39.6 per cent, and 45.7 per cent, respectively. It should be noted, however, that the relative decrease of northern and western European elements has not been wholly due to central, southern, and eastern European migrations. A part of the difference has been made up by a slight gain in the number of Asiatic-born foreigners, and by a heavy increase of American-born, particularly Mexicans, and Central and South Americans.⁸

Graphic expression is given to this set of phenomena in Chart 4. The total north and west European population is seen to have increased steadily to 1890, and to have dropped off slowly since then, whereas the central, south, and eastern elements have grown by leaps and bounds from relative insignificance until they have now outstripped the other group. Incidentally, the chart depicts clearly the acceleration in the rate of decrease in the one group, and the slackening in the rate of increase of the other during the decade just closed.

Some account has already been given of the shifting in position of the various nationalities from one census year to another. Tables 43 to 45 permit a closer examination of the same subject. From Table 44, which shows the increase or decrease of each national group from one decade to another, it is seen that, in general, the natives of northern and western Europe have been diminishing steadily in numbers since 1890—that is, since the end of the decade in which the tide of immigration turned from “old” to “new.” On the other hand, from that same date, those born in other portions of Europe have mounted steadily in numbers. The gain in numbers of those born in certain south European countries is particularly noticeable. Not only has Italy sent a steadily swelling stream of her natives to this country, but other south European countries, such as Greece, Spain, and Portugal, have also furnished rapidly accumulating bodies of immigrants, more particularly in the past two or three decades. The increase in the Greek population in this country since 1880 is spectacular, there having been barely 776 Greeks here in that year, as against 8,500 in 1900 and 175,900 in 1920. From 1900 to 1910 the Greek element in this country increased by over 1,000 per cent. The Spanish have also been adding rapidly to their numbers in this period, showing an increase of 213.6 per cent from 1900 to 1910, and of 124.1 per cent from 1910 to 1920. There thus seems to have been, in very recent years, a definite southward drift of the starting point of European immigration to the United States.

⁸ In order to obtain a long-range comparison, these tables are for the total foreign born, and therefore include the small number of foreign-born nonwhites.

CHART 4.—EUROPEAN-BORN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY REGION
AND SELECTED COUNTRIES OF BIRTH: 1850-1920

[Logarithmic scale]

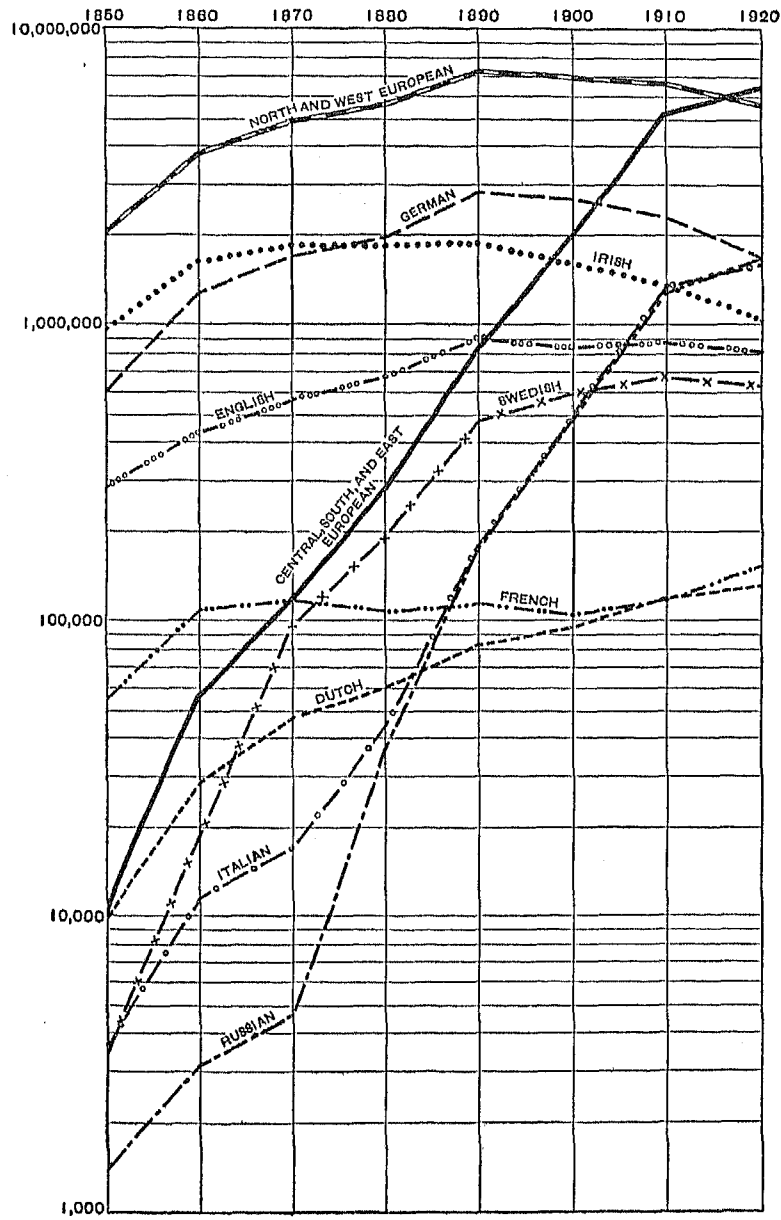


TABLE 43.—COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN

[Figures for each census year relate to

	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	NUMBER					
		1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870
1	Total foreign born.....	13,920,092	13,515,886	10,341,276	9,240,560	6,070,943	5,567,220
2	Europe.....	11,882,053	11,791,841	8,871,780	8,020,608	5,744,311	4,036,018
3	Northwestern Europe.....	5,516,202	6,550,304	6,866,101	7,165,046	5,461,226	4,815,171
4	England.....	813,853	877,719	840,513	909,092	664,160	555,046
5	Scotland.....	254,570	261,076	233,524	242,231	170,130	140,835
6	Wales.....	67,066	82,488	93,586	100,079	83,302	74,533
7	Ireland.....	1,037,234	1,352,251	1,615,459	1,871,509	1,854,571	1,855,827
8	Norway.....	363,863	403,877	336,388	322,665	181,729	114,246
9	Sweden.....	625,585	665,207	582,014	478,041	194,837	97,332
10	Denmark.....	189,154	181,649	153,690	132,543	64,106	30,107
11	Netherlands.....	131,760	120,063	94,931	81,828	58,090	46,802
12	Belgium.....	62,687	49,400	29,757	22,639	15,535	12,553
13	Luxemburg.....	12,585	3,071	3,031	2,882	12,836	5,802
14	Switzerland.....	118,659	124,848	115,593	104,069	88,621	75,153
15	France.....	153,072	117,418	104,197	113,174	106,971	116,402
16	Germany.....	1,680,108	2,311,237	2,663,418	2,784,894	1,966,742	1,690,533
17	Central and eastern Europe.....	4,448,737	3,712,804	1,473,228	635,735	221,034	93,916
18	Poland.....	1,130,979	2,937,834	383,407	147,440	48,557	14,436
19	Czechoslovakia.....	302,438					
20	Austria.....	575,627	2,845,555	432,798	241,377	124,024	70,797
21	Hungary.....	307,283	495,600	145,714	62,435	11,520	3,737
22	Yugoslavia.....	160,439					
23	Serbia.....		4,539				
24	Montenegro.....		5,374				
25	Russia.....	1,400,495	21,184,412	423,726	182,644	35,722	4,644
26	Lithuania.....	135,068		129,680	62,641		
27	Finland.....	149,824		65,923	15,032		
28	Rumania.....	102,823		11,498			
29	Bulgaria.....	10,477					
30	Turkey in Europe.....	5,284	332,230	9,010	1,830	1,205	302
31	Southern Europe.....	1,011,213	1,525,875	530,200	206,648	58,265	25,863
32	Greece.....	175,976	101,282	8,515	1,887	776	300
33	Albania.....	5,608	(³)				
34	Italy.....	1,010,113	1,343,125	484,027	182,680	44,230	17,157
35	Spain.....	49,535	22,108	7,050	0,185	5,121	3,704
36	Portugal.....	69,981	59,300	30,608	15,990	8,138	4,542
37	Other Europe ¹	5,901	2,858	2,251	12,579	3,786	1,678
38	Asia.....	237,950	191,484	120,248	113,396	107,630	64,565
39	Armenia.....	36,628					
40	Palestine.....	3,203	59,729	(⁴)	(⁴)	(⁴)	(⁴)
41	Syria.....	51,901					
42	Turkey in Asia.....	11,010					
43	China.....	43,560	56,756	81,534	106,701	104,468	63,042
44	Japan.....	81,502	67,744	24,788	2,292	401	73
45	India.....	4,001	4,664	2,031	2,143	1,707	586
46	Other Asia.....	5,236	2,591	11,895	2,260	1,054	864
47	America.....	1,727,017	1,489,231	1,317,380	1,088,245	807,230	551,335
48	Canada—French ⁵	307,786	385,083	395,126	302,496		
49	Canada—Other ⁵	817,139	819,554	784,706	678,442	717,157	493,464
50	Newfoundland ⁵	13,249	5,080				
51	Cuba.....	14,872	15,133	11,081		6,917	5,319
52	Other West Indies.....	764,090	732,502	714,354	23,256	9,484	6,251
53	Mexico.....	486,418	221,015	103,393	77,853	68,399	42,435
54	Central America.....	4,912	1,736	3,807	1,192	707	301
55	South America.....	18,551	8,228	4,733	5,006	4,566	3,565
56	All other ²	73,672	43,330	31,868	27,311	20,772	14,711

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.² Persons reported in 1910 as of Polish mother tongue born in Germany (98,182 males; 91,014 females), Austria (199,485 males; 129,933 females), and Russia (270,363 males; 148,007 females) have been deducted from the respective countries and combined as Poland for comparison with number reported in 1920 as born in Poland.³ Albania included with Turkey in Europe in 1910.

POPULATION, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1850-1920

countries as constituted in that year]

NUMBER—continued		PER CENT DISTRIBUTION								
1860	1850	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860	1850	
4,138,697	2,244,602	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	1
3,805,701	2,031,867	85.4	87.2	85.8	80.7	86.0	88.7	92.0	90.5	2
3,748,286	2,021,240	39.6	48.5	60.4	77.5	81.7	86.5	90.5	90.0	3
433,494	278,675	5.8	6.5	8.1	9.8	9.9	10.0	10.5	12.4	4
108,518	70,550	1.8	1.0	2.3	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.6	3.1	5
45,763	29,868	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.3	6
1,611,304	961,719	7.5	10.0	15.0	20.2	27.8	33.3	38.9	42.8	7
43,995	12,078	2.0	3.0	3.3	3.5	2.7	2.1	1.1	0.6	8
18,025	3,559	4.5	4.0	5.0	5.2	2.9	1.7	0.5	0.2	9
9,902	1,838	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.0	0.5	0.2	0.1	10
28,281	9,848	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.4	11
9,072	1,313	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	12
53,327	13,358	0.1	(1)	(1)	(1)	0.2	0.1			13
109,870	54,080	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.3	0.6	14
1,276,075	583,774	1.1	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.6	2.1	2.7	2.4	15
		12.1	17.1	25.8	30.1	29.4	30.4	30.8	26.0	16
35,047	2,466	32.0	27.5	14.2	6.9	3.4	1.7	0.9	0.1	17
7,298		8.2	0.0	3.7	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.2		18
		2.6								19
25,061	916	4.1	6.3	4.2	2.0	1.9	1.3	0.0	(1)	20
		2.9	3.7	1.4	0.7	0.2	0.1			21
		1.2								22
		(1)	(1)							23
		(1)								24
3,160	1,414	10.1	8.8	4.1	2.0	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	25
		1.0								26
		1.1	1.0	0.6						27
		0.7	0.5	0.1						28
		0.1	0.1							29
128	106	(1)	0.2	0.1	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	30
20,305	8,152	13.7	11.3	5.1	2.2	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.4	31
328	86	1.3	0.7	0.1	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	32
		(1)								33
11,077	3,670	11.6	9.9	4.7	2.0	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.2	34
4,244	3,113	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	35
4,116	1,274	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	36
1,403		(1)	(1)	(1)	0.1	0.1	(1)	(1)		37
36,796	1,135	1.7	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.2	0.0	0.1	38
(1)	(1)	0.3								39
		(1)	0.4							40
		0.1								41
35,565	758	0.3	0.4	0.8	1.2	1.6	1.1	0.0	(1)	42
		0.6	0.5	0.2	(1)	(1)	(1)			43
		(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)			44
1,231	377	(1)	(1)	0.1	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	45
		(1)								46
288,285	168,484	12.4	11.0	12.7	11.8	12.1	9.9	7.0	7.5	47
249,070	147,711	2.2	2.8	3.8	3.3					48
		5.9	6.1	7.0	7.3	10.7	8.9	6.0	0.6	49
		0.1	(1)							50
7,353	5,772	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	51
		0.5	0.2	0.1		0.1	0.1			52
27,466	13,317	3.5	1.6	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.6	53
233	141	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	54
3,263	1,543	0.1	0.1	(1)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	55
7,915	43,116	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	1.9	56

* Turkey in Asia included with Turkey in Europe prior to 1910.

* Includes "Europe, not specified" at each census, and Danzig, Fiume, and Saar Basin in 1920.

* Newfoundland included with Canada prior to 1910.

* Except possessions of the United States.

* Africa, Australia, Atlantic Islands, Pacific Islands except possessions of the United States, "country not specified," and born at sea.

TABLE 44.—INCREASE IN FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY

[The increases and decreases for each decade have been based on the numbers of persons reported, at the in which the censuses were taken. The increases and decreases for the decade 1910-1920 are, therefore, place within that decade. Per cent not shown where base is less than 100. A minus sign (-) denotes

	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	1910-1920		1900-1910		1890-1900	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1	Total foreign born.....	404,806	3.0	3,174,610	30.7	1,091,716	11.8
2	Europe.....	90,212	0.8	2,920,061	32.0	851,172	10.6
	Countries with unchanged boundaries since 1910:						
3	England.....	-93,866	-7.3	37,206	4.4	-68,579	-7.5
4	Scotland.....	-6,506	-2.5	27,552	11.8	-8,707	-3.6
5	Wales.....	-15,422	-18.7	-11,098	-11.9	-6,493	-6.5
6	Ireland.....	-315,017	-23.3	-263,208	-16.3	-256,050	-13.7
7	Norway.....	-40,014	-9.9	67,489	20.1	13,723	4.3
8	Sweden.....	-39,622	-0.0	83,193	14.3	103,073	21.7
9	Netherlands.....	11,703	9.7	25,132	26.5	13,103	16.0
10	Luxemburg.....	9,514	309.8	40	1.3	149	5.2
11	Switzerland.....	-6,189	-5.0	9,255	8.0	11,524	11.1
12	Finland.....	20,144	15.5	67,039	107.0	(¹)	
13	Spain.....	27,427	124.1	15,058	213.6	865	14.0
14	Portugal.....	10,621	17.9	28,752	93.0	14,612	91.3
	Countries with changed boundaries since 1910:						
15	Denmark.....	7,505	4.1	27,959	18.2	21,147	16.0
16	Belgium.....	13,287	26.9	19,043	66.0	7,118	31.4
17	France.....	35,654	30.4	13,221	12.7	-8,977	-7.9
18	Germany.....	² -625,129	-27.0	² -352,181	-13.2	-121,476	-4.4
19	Austria.....	² -269,928	-31.9	² 412,757	95.4	191,421	79.3
20	Hungary.....	-98,326	-19.8	340,895	240.1	83,270	133.4
21	Russia and Lithuania.....	² 351,151	29.6	² 760,686	179.5	¹ 303,723	166.3
22	Rumania.....	36,900	56.0	50,891	338.6	15,032	
23	Bulgaria.....	-1,021	-8.9	11,498			
24	Turkey in Europe.....	-26,946	-83.6	² 22,320	225.2	² 8,071	438.9
25	Greece.....	74,694	73.7	92,767	1,089.5	6,628	351.2
26	Italy.....	266,088	19.9	860,098	177.5	301,447	165.1
	Countries organized since 1910:						
27	Poland.....	² 202,095	21.5	² 554,477	144.0	235,967	160.0
28	Czechoslovakia.....	362,438					
29	Yugoslavia.....	159,426					
30	Albania.....	5,608		(³)			
31	Other Europe ⁴	3,043	106.5	10,620	471.8	-10,328	-82.1
32	Asia.....	46,466	24.3	71,236	59.2	6,852	6.0
33	Armenia.....						
34	Palestine.....						
35	Syria.....	43,022	72.0	² 59,729		(⁵)	
36	Turkey in Asia.....						
37	China.....	-13,196	-23.3	-24,778	-30.4	-25,167	-23.6
38	Japan.....	13,758	20.3	42,956	173.3	22,496	981.5
39	India.....	237	5.1	2,633	129.6	-112	-5.2
40	Other Asia.....	2,645	102.1	-9,304	-78.2	9,635	426.3
41	America.....	237,786	16.0	171,851	13.0	220,135	21.1
42	Canada—French ⁴	-77,297	-20.1	-10,043	-2.5	92,630	30.6
43	Canada—Other ⁴	-2,415	-0.3	34,758	4.4	106,354	15.7
44	Newfoundland ⁴	8,109	160.8	5,080			
45	West Indies ⁴	31,327	65.8	22,200	87.3	2,179	0.4
46	Mexico.....	264,503	119.2	118,522	114.6	25,540	32.8
47	Central and South America.....	13,490	135.5	1,334	15.5	2,432	39.2
48	All other ⁷	30,342	70.0	11,462	36.0	4,557	15.7

¹ Finland included with Russia prior to 1900.

² Persons reported in 1910 as of Polish mother tongue born in Germany (98,182 males; 91,914 females), Austria (199,485 males; 129,933 females), and Russia (270,363 males; 148,007 females) have been deducted from the respective countries and combined as Poland for comparison with number reported as born in Poland in 1920.

³ Albania included with Turkey in Europe in 1910. Turkey in Asia included with Turkey in Europe prior to 1910.

COUNTRY OF BIRTH, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1850-1920

beginning and end of the decade, as having been born in the specified countries as constituted in the years affected, in the case of certain countries, by the changes in the boundaries of those countries which took decrease]

1880-1890		1870-1880		1860-1870		1850-1860		
Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
2,569,017	38.5	1,112,714	20.0	1,428,532	34.5	1,804,095	84.4	1
2,276,297	39.6	807,693	16.4	1,130,917	29.7	1,773,834	87.3	2
244,932	36.9	109,114	19.7	121,552	28.0	154,810	55.0	3
72,095	42.4	29,301	20.8	32,317	29.8	37,068	53.8	4
16,777	20.1	8,769	11.8	28,770	62.9	15,805	53.2	5
16,038	0.9	-1,250	-0.1	244,523	15.2	646,685	67.5	6
140,936	77.6	67,483	59.1	70,251	159.7	31,317	247.0	7
233,704	146.0	97,005	99.7	78,707	422.0	15,060	423.3	8
23,738	40.9	11,288	24.1	18,521	65.5	18,433	187.2	9
-9,964	-77.5	7,034	121.2	5,802				10
15,448	17.4	13,408	17.0	21,820	40.9	30,969	200.2	11
(1)		(1)		(1)		(1)		12
1,064	20.8	1,357	36.1	-480	-11.3	1,131	36.3	13
7,858	96.0	3,506	79.2	420	10.3	2,842	223.1	14
68,347	100.5	34,080	113.2	20,145	202.2	8,124	442.0	15
7,104	45.7	2,982	23.8	3,481	38.4	7,750	500.0	16
0,202	5.8	-9,431	-8.1	6,532	5.9	55,801	103.2	17
818,152	41.0	276,209	16.3	414,458	32.5	692,301	118.0	18
117,353	94.0	53,227	75.2	45,736	182.5	24,115	2,540.2	19
60,909	441.7	7,780	208.4	3,737				20
140,922	411.3	131,078	609.2	1,484	47.0	1,746	123.5	21
								22
8,634	52.0	8,903	209.0	8,174	135.9	8,222	20.8	23
1,111	143.2	386	90.0	62	18.9	242		24
138,350	312.8	27,073	157.8	5,480	46.0	7,098	217.4	25
98,883	203.0	34,121	230.4	7,138	97.8	7,208		26
								27
								28
								29
								30
8,703	232.3	2,108	125.6	275	19.6	1,403		31
5,766	5.4	43,065	60.7	27,769	75.5	35,601	3,141.9	32
(2)		(2)		(2)		(2)		33
2,233	2.1	41,420	65.7	27,477	77.3	34,867	4,592.0	34
1,891	471.6	328		73				35
436	25.5	1,121	191.3	586				36
1,206	114.4	190	22.0	-307	-20.8	854	220.5	37
281,015	34.8	255,805	40.4	263,050	91.2	110,801	71.1	38
263,781	36.8	223,603	45.3	243,494	97.4	102,250	69.2	39
0,855	41.8	4,831	41.8	4,217	67.4	1,591	27.4	40
9,454	13.8	25,994	61.2	14,969	54.5	14,149	106.2	41
925	17.5	1,407	30.4	370	10.6	1,812	107.6	42
6,539	31.5	6,061	41.2	6,796	85.9	-35,201	-81.6	43
								44
								45
								46
								47
								48

¹ Includes "Europe, not specified" at each census, and Danzig, Fiume, and Saar Basin in 1920.

² Newfoundland included with Canada prior to 1910.

³ Except possessions of the United States.

⁴ Africa, Australia, Atlantic Islands, Pacific Islands except possessions of the United States, "country not specified," and born at sea.

1870 to 12,800 in 1880; decreased to 2,900 in 1890; increased again by a scant 1,000 over the period of two decades, and then suddenly swelled their numbers to 12,500 in 1920, at the remarkable rate of 309.8 per cent. The French seem to have gone through a similar process, having reached a high point of about 116,000 in 1870, 10 years before the first peak reached by the Luxemburgers, and after 30 years of alternating gains and losses, due perhaps to the detachment and the later reannexation of Alsace-Lorraine, to have established a new high record in the present census. On the other hand, the Dutch have increased steadily throughout the 70-year period for which statistics are available. Clearly, France and the "low countries" are out of line in comparison with the rest of northern and western Europe, in that they have continued sending newcomers to this country in fairly large numbers during the period when the migration from neighboring countries was falling off rapidly. So far as the writer is aware, this very interesting fact has not been given more than passing notice heretofore by students of the immigration question, and no attempt has been made to establish the causative factors behind it.

A very striking feature of the "new" immigration is the astounding rate of increase shown by certain nationalities over various intervals. For instance, the Italians have increased at a rate of over 100 per cent in every decade but two from 1850 to 1920.⁹ This record means, of course, a very rapid growth from relatively small beginnings. Thus, the Italians increased by only 7,998 in the period 1850-1860; but in 1870-1880 their numbers swelled by over 27,000; in 1880-1890, by over 138,000; in 1890-1900, by over 300,000; and in 1900-1910, by nearly 860,000—the heaviest numerical increment shown by any nationality over the entire 70-year period.

In Chart 4 the rapid growth of these south and east European populations is expressed by the steep slope of the curves representing them. The contrast between these curves and those for the north and west Europeans—for instance, the Russians compared with the Dutch—is striking.

The data for the American immigration are so incomplete as to be valueless for comparative purposes, especially in the case of Canada. The most significant feature of the foreign-born population from other portions of America is its rapid increase in recent years, this increase being particularly noteworthy in the case of Mexico.

⁹ The Austrians, Greeks, and the Russians and Lithuanians showed even higher rates of increase, for shorter periods.

It would be interesting to trace the many and diverse causal circumstances accompanying the nationality distribution of the foreign-born population in 1920 and in earlier census years. The subject is, however, too extensive and complex to be treated in this monograph.¹⁰ It may be pointed out, however, that the investigator who is seeking light upon this question will find the data presented in this portion of the study of value in supporting and checking his conclusions.

One further topic of general significance may be noted here, in connection with the widely observed classification of the foreign born into "old" and "new" immigration. This portion of the study shows this distinction to be of substantive value when applied to whole regions and over a considerable period of time, but to be of less validity when brought to bear on *separate nationalities* or for *short periods of time*.

It is self-evident that, generally speaking, northern and western European immigration has been giving way to central, southern, and eastern European immigration since about 1890, and that, as a result, the foreign-born population of the United States is now predominantly made up of "new" immigrants from Russia, Italy, Austria, Poland, and adjoining countries, and not of "old" immigrants from Germany, Ireland, England, Scandinavia, and neighboring nationalities. Generally speaking, this is true, but particularly speaking, it is not true. Some northwestern European nationalities fall clearly within the chronological limits ordinarily assigned the "new" immigration; such are France, Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands, as well as the Scandinavian countries, and, in some degree, England. Contrariwise, certain of the central, southern, and eastern Europeans were coming here in large numbers during the years when the "old" immigration was in the ascendancy. This, certainly, was the case with the Bohemians¹¹ and probably with the Poles,¹² while a considerable number of Italians can also claim enumeration as "old" immigrants, there having been over 11,000 Italian-born in this country as early as 1860, 17,000 in 1870, and 44,000 in 1880. There is, obviously, no such clear-cut distinction between the "old" and "new" immigration as many students appear to believe.

In this connection, reference to Chart 4 proves illuminating. It serves to show how widely certain nationalities diverge from

¹⁰ The question is discussed at some length in the Report of the United States Immigration Commission, Vol. I, pp. 161-204, and Vol. IV. The writer finds himself unable to agree with the report's stressing of economic, as against political and religious causes of immigration in the case of the "new" immigrants, and believes, further, that the report seriously underrates the economic factors actuating the "old" immigration, on the one hand, and the political, social, and religious influences motivating the "new" immigration, on the other. Cf. *infra*, pp. 111, 112, and 116.

¹¹ See *supra*, Ch. IV, Sec. 3, Table 38, and accompanying text.

¹² Some of them were counted as "German," "Russian," and "Austrian" in earlier years. Cf. *supra*, Table 43, and p. 76.

the trend imputed to the "old" immigration as a whole. It also suggests the source of the error into which most students have fallen in this matter. The curve for all the "old" or north and west European immigrants is shown at the top of the chart. It rises fairly steeply from 1850 to 1890, falling off thereafter, at first slowly, but with considerable rapidity in the decade 1910-1920. Now, the remarkable feature about this chart is that only one of the separate countries shown here exhibits curves similar to this. The curve for the Irish begins to flatten out in 1870, and declines with increasing sharpness from 1880 to 1920. The English curve parallels the "old" immigration curve fairly closely up to 1890, but goes its own way after that, showing a slight increase from 1900 to 1910, and a much less precipitous decrease in the last decade than the other curve. The trend shown for the French population is entirely atypical. Beginning with 1860, it continues almost flat, with slight "ups and downs" until 1900, after which it registers an increase. More remarkable is the course taken by the Dutch curve, a rapid increase from 1850 to 1860, and a slightly less rapid growth maintained steadily from that year down to the present. Finally, the Swedish foreign born show a trend which, over the 40 years from 1850 to 1890, parallels very closely that of the "new" immigration; in fact, during the two decades following 1850, the Swedes display a steeper rate of increase than either the Italians or Russians. Even after 1880, the Swedish population registers a steady growth down to 1910, and, like the English, only a moderate decline in the last decennium. The only curve whose configuration is similar to that shown for the "old" immigration is that for the German born, and herein probably lies the factor that has confused the issue. The Germans have been first or second among the foreign born since 1850, and, since 1890 have been the predominant element among the "old" immigration. So overwhelming have been their numbers that *they have determined the trend for the combined north and west European group*. In sum, the chart shows that conclusions based on the total of the north and west European foreign born accurately describe only the course taken by the numerically preponderant German-born element in that group; that it approximates more or less the course of the English and Irish population; and that it misrepresents very seriously the trend of the French, Dutch, and neighboring peoples, and positively distorts that displayed by the Scandinavians.

The classification of "old" and "new" immigrants is a useful generalization for presenting a summary view of certain features of the immigrant problem, but it can not with accuracy be given universal application to particular nationalities or to short periods of time. As was brought out in the discussion of the territorial distribution of the foreign born, and as will be shown still more clearly

in succeeding sections of the monograph, there is danger of even greater error when the effort is made to impute any physical, economic, or other characteristic to every nationality and race within the "old" or "new" immigrant groups. For all detailed analyses, it would, therefore, seem desirable to give primary consideration to nationalities and racial strains as separate entities.

The country of origin of the total foreign white stock—that is, of the foreign born and their children, taken together—constitutes the *second* heading under which this question may be considered.¹³ The statistics bearing on the topic are found in Tables 46 to 50, and 155.

TABLE 46.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1890-1920

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN (PRE-WAR BOUNDARIES)	FOREIGN WHITE STOCK							
	Number				Per cent distribution			
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1920	1910	1900	1890
Total.....	36,398,958	32,243,382	25,850,834	20,625,542	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Northwestern Europe:								
England.....	2,307,112	2,322,442	2,173,741	1,977,505	6.3	7.2	8.4	9.6
Scotland.....	731,230	650,603	594,207	519,252	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.5
Wales.....	230,380	248,947	253,045	225,582	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.1
Ireland.....	4,136,395	4,504,360	4,826,004	4,795,681	11.4	14.0	18.7	23.3
Norway.....	1,023,225	979,090	788,758	606,316	2.8	3.0	3.1	2.9
Sweden.....	1,457,382	1,364,215	1,082,388	730,560	4.0	4.2	4.2	3.5
Denmark.....	467,525	400,004	310,127	216,995	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1
Netherlands.....	302,318	293,574	-----	-----	1.0	0.9	-----	-----
Belgium.....	122,080	89,264	-----	-----	0.3	0.3	-----	-----
Luxemburg.....	43,100	6,945	-----	-----	0.1	(¹)	-----	-----
Switzerland.....	327,707	301,050	257,426	-----	0.9	0.9	1.0	-----
France.....	333,678	292,389	208,292	258,919	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.3
Germany.....	7,259,992	8,282,018	8,111,453	6,867,229	19.9	25.7	31.4	33.2
Central and eastern Europe:								
Austria.....	3,129,798	2,001,559	895,500	341,549	8.6	6.2	3.5	1.7
Hungary.....	1,110,905	700,227	218,447	77,121	3.1	2.2	0.8	0.4
Russia.....	3,871,109	2,541,640	955,918	258,583	10.6	7.9	3.7	1.3
Finland.....	209,276	211,020	-----	-----	0.6	0.7	-----	-----
Rumania.....	134,318	87,721	-----	-----	0.4	0.3	-----	-----
Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro.....	43,703	22,685	-----	-----	0.1	0.1	-----	-----
Turkey in Europe.....	23,208	35,314	-----	-----	0.1	0.1	-----	-----
Southern Europe:								
Greece.....	212,342	109,065	-----	-----	0.6	0.3	-----	-----
Italy.....	3,336,941	2,098,360	727,844	249,544	9.2	6.5	2.8	1.2
Spain.....	77,947	33,134	-----	-----	0.2	0.1	-----	-----
Portugal.....	134,794	111,122	-----	-----	0.4	0.3	-----	-----
Europe not specified.....	10,998	7,576	-----	-----	(¹)	(¹)	-----	-----
Asia:								
Turkey in Asia.....	164,480	78,631	-----	-----	0.5	0.2	-----	-----
All other countries.....	10,735	7,204	-----	-----	(¹)	(¹)	-----	-----
America:								
Canada—French.....	848,309	932,238	830,335	526,934	2.3	2.9	3.2	2.6
Canada—Other.....	1,755,519	1,822,377	1,637,603	1,255,629	4.8	5.7	6.3	6.1
Newfoundland.....	25,448	8,635	-----	-----	0.1	(¹)	-----	-----
West Indies ²	45,496	41,842	-----	-----	0.1	0.1	-----	-----
Mexico.....	726,332	382,002	-----	-----	2.0	1.2	-----	-----
Central and South America.....	19,487	13,610	-----	-----	0.1	(¹)	-----	-----
All other.....	116,458	74,523	871,604	1,013,774	0.3	0.2	3.4	4.9
Of mixed foreign parentage.....	1,502,457	1,177,092	1,056,162	714,270	4.1	3.7	4.1	3.5

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

² Except possessions of the United States.

¹³ The foreign white stock from any specific country represents the total of native whites having one or both parents born in that country and foreign-born whites born in the same country, except that in 1920 the latter element was classified by the birthplace of father on the pre-war basis. See also Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. IX.

The most significant aspects of the tables are those referring to the situation in 1920. Of these, two are noteworthy: The relatively high proportion of the "old" immigrant stock in this combined group of immigrants and their children, and the variation in the percentage of native born of foreign or mixed parentage to the total foreign stock.

TABLE 47.—FIRST 10 COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK: 1920

Rank	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	FOREIGN WHITE STOCK: 1920	
		Number	Per cent of total
1	Germany.....	7,259,992	10.9
2	Ireland.....	4,136,395	11.4
3	Russia.....	3,871,109	10.0
4	Italy.....	3,336,941	9.2
5	Austria.....	3,129,798	8.6
6	Canada (French and "Other").....	2,603,828	7.1
7	England ¹	2,307,112	6.3
8	Sweden ²	1,457,382	4.0
9	Hungary.....	1,110,905	3.1
10	Norway.....	1,023,225	2.8

¹ England, Scotland, and Wales, 3,268,731, or 8.9 per cent.

² Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, 2,948,132, or 8.1 per cent.

Both Tables 46 and 47 bring out the fact that, in the groups composed of immigrants and their children, the "old" north and west European immigrants still predominate. Two of the first 5, and 5 of the first 10 countries of origin of the total foreign white stock are of this class. The first 5 northwestern European groups make up 44.4 per cent of the total foreign white stock, and the entire contingent from this region comes to 51.5 per cent of the total. On the other hand, only 4 central, southern, and eastern European countries are represented in the first 10, and amount only to 31.5 per cent of the total, while the entire central, southern, and eastern European element in the population equals but 34.1 per cent of the foreign white stock. This distribution contrasts strongly with that for the foreign-born population, and the cause is not far to seek. This combined group is influenced by the character of the immigration of the past generation—that is, the parents of the present native born of foreign or mixed parentage—and, *pari passu*, of the northern and western European stock. Table 46 shows how great this "carry-over" from the earlier migrations has been.¹⁴ It appears that a marked decrease in the number of foreign born from certain countries in the decade 1910-1920 is accompanied by a substantial increase

¹⁴ See also Table 154.

in respect to the total foreign white stock from those same countries during this decade. This situation is a result, obviously, of a large increase in the number of native-born children of immigrant parents from those countries. Scotland, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland come under this head. Again, the decrease as regards total foreign white stock from certain other countries is at a much smaller rate than as regards the foreign born from these same countries. Thus, Germany, whose foreign-born population in this country shrank 27 per cent between 1910 and 1920, showed for her total foreign white stock in the United States a loss of only 12.3 per cent.

A similar tendency is revealed by the comparison, for the various census years, of the first five countries according to immigration, to foreign-born white population, and to native-born white population of foreign or mixed parentage, as set forth in Table 48. The table shows the native born of foreign or mixed parentage to respond much less quickly to fluctuations in immigration than the foreign born. It is clear that the children of the foreign born have caused a perceptible retardation in the transition of the foreign stock from "old" to "new" immigration. Indeed, they have partially neutralized it, as is pointed out below.

TABLE 48.—FIRST 5 COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN OF THE DECENNIAL IMMIGRATION, AND OF THE COMPONENT ELEMENTS OF THE FOREIGN WHITE STOCK: 1880-1920

[Census data adapted to that for immigration [by combining Russia, Finland, and Lithuania in 1920 and 1910, and Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia in 1920]

Rank	Immigration 1910 to 1919	Foreign-born white: 1920	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage: 1920	Immigration 1900 to 1909	Foreign-born white: 1910	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage: 1910
1	Italy	Germany	Germany	Aus.-Hun.	Germany	Germany
2	Aus.-Hun.	Russia	Ireland	Italy	Russia	Ireland
3	Russia	Italy	Aus.-Hun.	Russia	Aus.-Hun.	Canada
4	Canada ¹	Aus.-Hun.	Russia	England	Ireland	England
5	England	Poland	Canada	Ireland	Italy	Aus.-Hun.
Rank	Immigration 1890 to 1899	Foreign-born white: 1900	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage: 1900	Immigration 1880 to 1889	Foreign-born white: 1890	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage: 1890
1	Italy	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
2	Germany	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
3	Aus.-Hun.	Canada	England	England	Canada	England
4	Russia	England	Canada	Canada ¹	England	Canada
5	Ireland	Aus.-Hun.	Aus.-Hun.	Sweden	Aus.-Hun.	Aus.-Hun.

¹ British America.

This consideration leads to the second interesting feature in these tables, namely, the variation in the proportion of the second-generation foreign element among the various national strains composing the foreign white stock. Table 49 shows that, as might be expected, there is in general an inverse ratio between the recency of a group's migration, and the percentage of second-generation immigrants within it. Thus, all but four of the "old" north and west European nations show a ratio higher than the average of the entire foreign white stock, while all of the "new," or central, south, and east European immigrants show a ratio lower than the average. Moreover, the four "old" immigrant groups which exhibit less than the average quota of second-generation elements are those which the preceding analysis has shown to be closely comparable to the "new" immigration. They are Scotland¹⁵ and Sweden, the population from which increased up to 1910, and Denmark and Belgium, whose representation was still gaining in 1920. On the other hand, the Dutch and the Luxemburgers, whom the present census also shows to be growing in numbers, have something more than the average percentage of the second generation in their total contribution to the foreign stock. This situation is plainly anomalous, but, until students of the immigrant question give more attention than they have hitherto to this whole group from "the low countries," it is impossible to assign any reason for it that can be more than a conjecture.¹⁶

TABLE 49.—PER CENT NATIVE BORN OF TOTAL FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	Per cent native born	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	Per cent native born
Total	62.3	Europe—Continued.	
Europe:		Central, southern, and eastern	
Northwestern Europe—		Europe—Continued.	
England	64.3	Rumania	30.5
Scotland	57.6	Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro	25.2
Wales	70.9	Turkey in Europe	18.7
Ireland	71.8	Greece	21.5
Norway	64.6	Italy	51.6
Sweden	56.6	Spain	32.4
Denmark	59.0	Portugal	49.6
Netherlands	63.0	Europe not specified	69.6
Belgium	48.5	Asia:	
Luxemburg	70.2	Turkey in Asia	38.7
Switzerland	64.2	All other countries	52.1
France	62.6	America:	
Germany	73.6	Canada—French	64.3
Central, southern, and eastern		Canada—Other	68.2
Europe—		Newfoundland	51.6
Austria	53.8	West Indies	51.8
Hungary	46.2	Mexico	34.7
Russia	47.8	Central and South America	39.5
Finland	49.1	All other	58.5

¹⁵ The Scotch decreased slightly at the census of 1900 and increased again in 1910.

¹⁶ In the case of Luxemburg, an explanation is suggested by the fact that there have been *two* waves from that country; so that the high percentage of children of foreign born in that group may represent the offspring from the earlier group of immigrants, enough of whom have died to reduce the total number of foreign born for the nationality. No such hypothesis is possible, however, for the Dutch immigration.

Certain general observations may now be made concerning the significance of the tendencies brought out in this portion of the discussion. They have to do, in the first instance, with the relative size of the total foreign white stock, as compared both with the foreign-born population, and with the entire white population. There are at present about 36,400,000 first and second generation immigrants in this country; that is, over twice the number of foreign born, and close to two-fifths (38.4 per cent) of the entire white population of the country. It is this total foreign white stock that is, for this generation at least, of major numerical importance, and therefore, of principal ethnic significance in the Nation's immigration problem. Now, the tables just reviewed have shown that the "old," or, more properly, the north and west European immigrants, are still in a very heavy majority in this larger group, not only because of the presence of large numbers of descendants of older immigrants, but also because of the generally disregarded continuation, down to the beginning of this last decade, and even down to the census of 1920, of an increase in the number of foreign born from some half dozen north European countries. When, in addition, cognizance is taken of the millions of descendants of original colonial stock to be found in the country, and, yet again, of the other millions of grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the earlier waves of English and of German immigrants, it becomes perfectly obvious that the white population of this country is predominantly of north and west European stock, and is so in a far larger degree than contemplation merely of the *present generation of foreign born* would lead one to infer. If the present restrictive legislation should be completely relaxed, and the central, southern, and eastern European peoples given unlimited access to the United States, this situation would in time be altered, but the shifting in the preponderance between the two groups would take far longer than might be supposed, for the descendants of the colonial and of the north and west European stocks would continue reproducing themselves and would have such a lead over the other elements that they could only slowly be overtaken. Moreover, consideration of the recent trend of English, Scotch, Scandinavian, Dutch, and Belgian immigration suggests that there may be substantial increments to the foreign stock from these portions of northwestern Europe for some time to come. If, on the other hand, the present restrictive policy is continued without material modification, there seems to be no chance of there ever being any significant change in the existing relation between the two stocks, unless the central, south, and east European elements should reproduce themselves at a very much more rapid rate than the north

and west Europeans, a contingency which Mr. Rossiter's analysis seems to put outside the limits of present possibility.¹⁷

The *third* set of data relating to the country of origin of the foreign white stock is in line with the observations just made. It is a partial estimate of the numbers of grandchildren of the foreign born of the several nationalities present in the United States in 1920. The estimate is made by imputing to the native born of foreign or mixed parentage of each national group in the population of 1910 the same percentage of natural increase—namely, 11.6 per cent—as has been reckoned by Mr. Rossiter for the entire group of native born of foreign or mixed parentage in 1910.¹⁸ It should be borne in mind that this estimate applies to the offspring only of those children of the foreign born enumerated in one census, and to a 10-year period only. It should also be remembered that the imputed rate of increase is itself based upon a number of arbitrary assumptions, and that it is, accordingly, to be accepted with the reservations appropriate to such a species of statistical tabulation.

TABLE 50.—ESTIMATED FOREIGN WHITE STOCK INCLUDING PART OF THIRD GENERATION, BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	Foreign white stock including part of third generation (estimated)	Foreign white stock: 1920	Natural increase from native white of foreign and mixed parentage: 1910-1920
Total foreign white stock	38,591,106	36,308,958	2,192,148
Europe	33,031,653	31,185,237	1,846,416
Northwestern Europe	20,311,612	18,802,838	1,508,774
England	2,474,846	2,307,112	167,734
Scotland	777,480	731,230	46,241
Wales	249,690	230,380	19,310
Ireland	4,502,051	4,136,395	365,656
Norway	1,080,953	1,023,225	57,728
Sweden	1,538,470	1,457,382	81,088
Denmark	492,864	467,525	25,339
Netherlands	382,446	362,318	20,128
Belgium	127,310	122,686	4,624
Luxemburg	43,559	43,109	450
Switzerland	348,308	327,797	20,511
France	353,996	333,678	20,318
Germany	7,030,630	7,259,992	670,647
Central, eastern, and southern Europe	12,708,495	12,371,401	337,094
Austria	3,225,687	3,129,798	95,889
Hungary	1,134,642	1,110,905	23,737
Russia	3,980,021	3,871,109	108,912
Finland	305,713	296,276	9,437
Rumania	136,846	134,318	2,528
Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro	43,846	43,703	143
Turkey in Europe	23,627	23,268	359
Greece	213,317	212,342	975
Italy	3,424,555	3,336,941	87,614
Spain	79,241	77,947	1,294
Portugal	141,000	134,794	6,206
Europe not specified	11,546	10,998	548

¹⁷ Rossiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-191.

¹⁸ Rossiter, *op. cit.*, p. 191, and Appendices B and C.

TABLE 50.—ESTIMATED FOREIGN WHITE STOCK INCLUDING PART OF THIRD GENERATION, BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920—CON.

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	Foreign white stock including part of third generation (estimated)	Foreign white stock: 1920	Natural increase from native white of foreign and mixed parentage: 1910-1920
Asia.....	177,719	175,215	2,504
Turkey in Asia.....	169,676	164,490	2,196
All other countries.....	11,043	10,725	308
America.....	3,622,291	3,419,591	202,760
Canada—French.....	911,779	848,309	63,470
Canada—Other.....	1,872,840	1,755,519	117,321
Newfoundland.....	25,861	25,448	413
West Indies ¹	47,662	45,496	2,166
Mexico.....	744,147	725,332	18,815
Central and South America.....	20,002	19,487	515
All other.....	120,443	116,458	3,985
Of mixed foreign parentage.....	1,639,000	1,502,457	136,543

¹ Except possessions of the United States.

Table 50 sets forth the results of this calculation. They are what would be expected from the study of the first and second generation foreign white stock. The addition of a portion of the third generation makes the north and west European elements far outnumber the central, south, and east European stock, the ratio being nearly two to one. The Asiatic group shrinks to relative insignificance—less than 200,000 in a total of nearly 38,600,000. Likewise, the Mexican stock, when measured in terms of its long-run contribution to the population, is seen to be of inconsiderable proportions, as regards both the Canadian elements and the total foreign stock.

Finally, attention should be directed to the impressively large total attained by this more widely defined foreign white stock. It comes to just about 38,600,000, which is more than 35 per cent of the total population, and over 40 per cent of the total white population. Nor should it be forgotten that this figure includes only a fraction of the third generation of the foreign white stock.

In general, consideration of the country of origin of the foreign stock leads to four generalizations. *First*, the foreign-born population, for the first time in this country's history, contains a majority of central, south, and east Europeans, in contradistinction to the north and west Europeans who have predominated heretofore. *Second*, this drift from "old" to "new" immigration is not nearly so uniform nor so complete as one might believe from the consideration merely of *total* figures. On the one hand, certain of the so-called "new" immigrant peoples have been present in large numbers in this coun-

try for a long period; on the other hand, many of the "old" immigrant nationalities have continued increasing their representation in this country well into the period when the *total* north and west European element was declining in importance, while some of them have increased their numbers right down to the present. *Third*, if to the foreign born are added the children of an earlier immigrant generation, the foreign stock appears to be yet more heavily of northwestern European origin, and, if the grandchildren of a still earlier generation are included, this element's lead becomes decisive. When, finally, the descendants of the colonial stock are taken into account it is clearly seen that the northwest European strain will dominate the ethnic make-up of this country for several generations to come, if not permanently. *Fourth*, southern Europe and Mexico seem to be the most important of the new sources of population reinforcement for this country. The fact that the Spanish elements of south Europe and the Mexicans are similar in language and culture warrants particular note.

These conclusions find general confirmation and elucidation when attention is directed to the ethnic and language structure of the foreign stock.

2. RACE AND MOTHER TONGUE OF THE FOREIGN STOCK

Though the country of origin provides the most practicable and complete basis for analyzing the foreign stock, it is in many ways unsatisfactory. On the one hand, there are often many distinct ethnic groups within the borders of one nation, particularly in central and eastern Europe, where, indeed, the friction and oppression growing out of such differences has been a major cause of migration. On the other hand, certain immigrant peoples are scattered throughout several countries of origin, and would entirely escape observation unless classified on some other basis than nationality. Such are the Hebrews, who arrived in this country to the number of over 1,500,000 during the two decades ending July 1, 1919. Again, certain populations are diverse in nationality and race, but are yet linked together in language and customs; so that—culturally, at least—they constitute a uniform group. The English-speaking English, Irish, Welsh, Scotch, and Canadians make up one such group and the Spanish-speaking Spanish, Mexicans, West Indians, and Central and South Americans make another.

Unfortunately, however, nothing like so comprehensive an analysis of the foreign population is possible on the ethnic or linguistic basis as is the case with the country of origin. Not only is it difficult to

reach any generally accepted classification of race or language, but there is a paucity of statistical material for both types of data. The Census Bureau has recorded the "mother tongue" of the foreign stock for only two census periods, and has interpreted "race" as covering only such broad groups as White, Negro, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, etc.¹⁹ On the other hand, the Bureau of Immigration has, since 1899, classified immigrants by "race or people" but the data gathered by this agency are not at all comparable with the census returns,²⁰ the first set being concerned with foreign-born persons migrating into this country from year to year, the other, with the foreign born and their children resident in this country at each decennium. The information to be drawn from each source is, however, valuable as a check upon and an aid to the more comprehensive analysis by country of origin.

Tables 51 to 53, 56, 58, 156, and 157, as well as Chart 5, are concerned with the mother tongue of the foreign stock. Tables 54, 55, 57, 158, and 159 deal with the "races or peoples" entering into the United States, as tabulated by the Bureau of Immigration.

The *first* feature of interest in these tables is the fact that they confirm certain of the conclusions reached in the earlier analysis, such as those relating to the general shift from "old" to "new" immigration, and to the recent increase in south European and Mexican, West Indian, and Spanish-American immigration.

The trend away from north and west European immigration and toward central, south, and east European immigration is reflected in one way or another by all of the tables concerned. Table 51 shows that, among the foreign born, those with mother tongues characteristic of north and west European populations—to wit, English and Celtic, Germanic, and Scandinavian—all declined in numbers, both absolutely and relatively, from 1910 to 1920, whereas the opposite is true of those whose languages dominate in other portions of Europe, that is, Latin and Greek, Slavic and Lettic, Semitic,²¹ and Ugro-Finn. In 1910 the first group amounted to 56.5 per cent of the total foreign born and the second to 42.5 per cent. The situation was reversed in 1920, the north and west European language groups accounting for only 48.5 per cent of the total foreign born as against 51.3 per cent for the other European language types.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the classification according to mother tongue, see Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. X, p. 968. For the purposes of this monograph, two additional classes have been added: Semitic, consisting of Yiddish and Hebrew, Syrian and Arabic, and Armenian; and Ugro-Finn, consisting of Magyar and Finnish. Cf. Kroeber: "Anthropology," New York, 1923, pp. 95, 96.

²⁰ For a discussion of the classification of races used by the Bureau of Immigration, see Report of the Immigration Commission, Vol. I, pp. 265-283 and Vol. V, *passim*.

²¹ Hebrew is also a Levantine language.

CHART 5.—ELEMENTS OF FOREIGN WHITE STOCK, BY LINGUISTIC GROUPS, FOR THE UNITED STATES:
1920 AND 1910

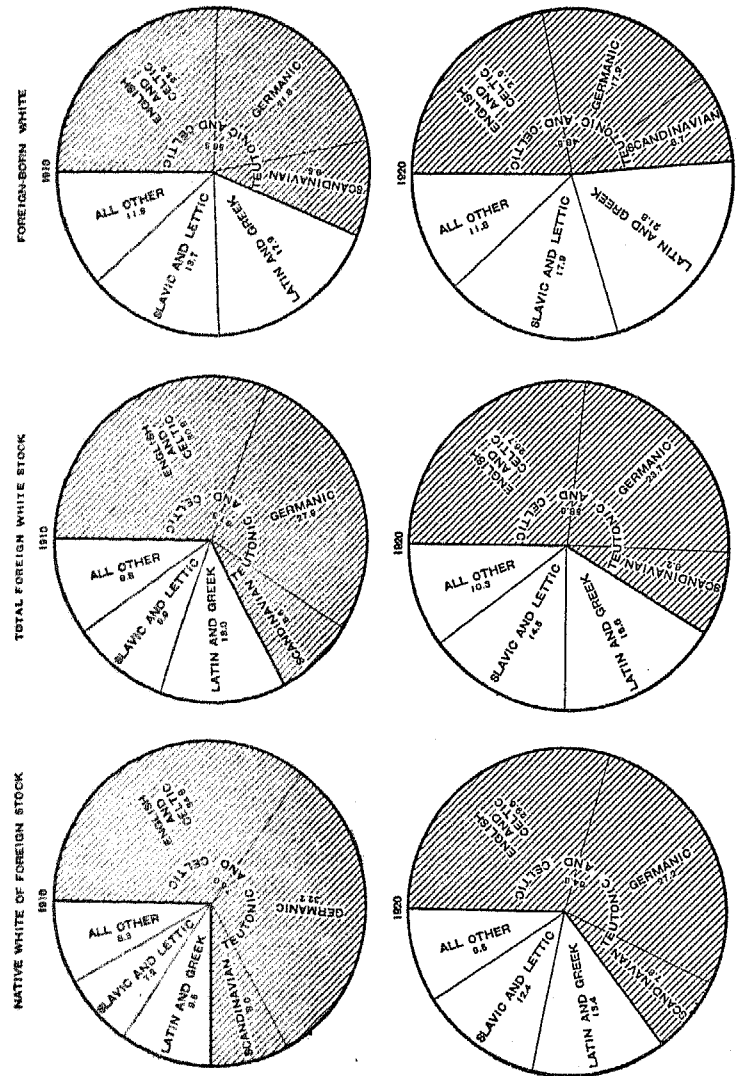


TABLE 51.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, BY MOTHER TONGUE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920 AND 1910

MOTHER TONGUE	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION			
	1920		1910	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All mother tongues.....	13,712,751	100.0	13,345,545	100.0
English and Celtic.....	3,007,932	21.9	3,363,792	25.2
Germanic.....	2,449,364	17.9	2,910,857	21.8
Scandinavian.....	1,194,933	8.7	1,272,159	9.5
Latin and Greek.....	2,990,954	21.8	2,385,388	17.9
Slavic and Lettic.....	2,460,332	17.9	1,831,666	13.7
Semitic.....	1,187,024	8.7	1,108,573	8.3
Ugro-Finn.....	401,679	2.9	349,180	2.6
Unclassified.....	13,370	0.1	7,667	0.1
Unknown.....	7,166	0.1	116,272	0.9
English and Celtic.....	3,007,932	21.9	3,363,792	25.2
Germanic.....				
German.....	2,267,128	16.5	2,769,632	20.7
Dutch and Frisian.....	135,540	1.0	125,045	0.9
Flemish.....	45,696	0.3	25,780	0.2
Scandinavian.....				
Swedish.....	643,263	4.7	683,218	5.1
Norwegian.....	362,159	2.6	402,587	3.0
Danish.....	189,511	1.4	186,345	1.4
Latin and Greek.....				
Italian.....	1,624,998	11.9	1,365,110	10.2
French.....	460,956	3.4	528,842	4.0
Spanish.....	556,111	4.1	258,131	1.9
Portuguese.....	105,895	0.8	72,649	0.5
Rumanian.....	62,336	0.5	42,277	0.3
Greek.....	174,658	1.3	118,379	0.9
Slavic and Lettic.....				
Polish.....	1,077,392	7.9	943,781	7.1
Czech.....	234,564	1.7	228,738	1.7
Slovak.....	274,948	2.0	166,474	1.2
Russian ¹	392,049	2.9	57,626	0.4
Ruthenian.....	55,672	0.4	25,131	0.2
Slovenian.....	102,744	0.7	123,631	0.9
Serbo-Croatian—				
Croatian.....	83,063	0.6	74,036	0.6
Dalmatian.....	2,112	(²)	4,344	(²)
Serbian.....	36,471	0.3	23,403	0.2
Montenegrin.....	4,198	(²)	3,886	(²)
Bulgarian.....	12,853	0.1	18,341	0.1
Slavic, not specified.....	2,039	(²)	21,012	0.2
Lithuanian and Lettish.....	182,227	1.3	140,963	1.1
Semitic.....				
Yiddish and Hebrew.....	1,091,820	8.0	1,051,767	7.9
Armenian.....	37,647	0.3	23,938	0.2
Syrian and Arabic.....	57,557	0.4	32,866	0.2
Ugro-Finn.....				
Magyar.....	268,112	2.0	229,094	1.7
Finnish.....	133,567	1.0	120,086	0.9
Unclassified.....				
Turkish.....	6,627	(²)	4,709	(²)
Albanian.....	5,515	(²)	2,312	(²)
All other.....	1,228	(²)	646	(²)
Unknown.....	7,166	0.1	116,272	0.9

¹ Probably includes a considerable proportion of Hebrews erroneously reported as of Russian mother tongue.

² Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Although Table 52 reveals relatively little change within the first 10 mother tongues in the foreign-born population, nevertheless, as shown later, whatever change has taken place is in favor of the "new" immigrant types, the Norwegian dropping from eighth to

On the other hand, the classification of recent immigration to the United States by races or peoples shows a tendency somewhat opposed to this general movement. Tables 54 and 158 show the "new" immigrant races to have decreased considerably more than the "old," and to have constituted a smaller per cent of the total immigration in the decade 1910-1919 than in the one preceding. Again, four out of eight "old" immigrant races showed positive increases in the second of the two decennial periods, whereas only six out of twenty-one "new" immigrant peoples sent heavier quotas to this country in 1910-1919 than in 1900-1910.

It is difficult with any assurance of certainty to assign a cause to this apparent anomaly. A primary difficulty is the short period covered by the data; it represents but two decades and a series involving only two units of comparison is so inadequate as to throw into doubt any conclusions derived from it. The general slump in immigration accompanying and following the World War is probably the major cause of disturbance. Another is the fact that certain non-European elements, such as the English and French Canadians, for the purposes of this classification, are added to the true English and French, and so swell the "old" immigrant quotas. On the other hand, it may be that this table gives evidence of a recrudescence of the north and west European sources of immigration that has been obscured in the data using the more arbitrary classification of country of origin. Whether this be true or not, these tables certainly do corroborate the point made above, namely, that there is no correspondence between the Irish and German immigration, on the one hand, and the other north and west European stocks, on the other. During the 10 years ended June 30, 1919, the Irish and German immigration showed a decided falling off, as compared with the previous decennial period, but the English, Scotch, French, Dutch, and Flemish all showed absolute increases, and the Welsh gained relatively. This situation reflects the tendency indicated in Chart 4, to wit, that the decreasing numerical importance generally imputed to the whole of the "old" immigration is, in large measure, attributable rather to the diminution of the two largest elements in that immigration—that is, the Irish and Germans—than to any generally uniform falling off throughout the group.

The data for mother tongue and race give definite confirmation to the conclusions reached above in connection with the recent increase in numbers of southern European and certain American stocks. Reference to Table 54, which represents a grouping of the races, from Table 158, brings out the fact that three of the five "new" immigrant groups that register an increase in absolute

numbers in the decade 1910-1919 compared with the preceding decennium, are southern European, namely, Greek, Portuguese,²³ and Spanish.

TABLE 54.—INCREASE OR DECREASE IN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, BY RACES OR PEOPLES, 1910-1919, IN COMPARISON WITH 1900-1909

RACE OR PEOPLE	CHANGE IN NUMBER		CHANGE IN PER CENT OF TOTAL	
	Increase	Decrease	Increase	Decrease
Total immigration.....	183,636	2,038,644		
Northern and western European.....		362,765	2.0	
Central, southern, and eastern European, and Levantine.....		1,619,678		5.0
West Indian, Mexican, and Spanish American.....	148,625		2.7	
African (black).....	35,011		0.7	
All other.....		56,201		0.2
Northern and western European:				
Dutch and Flemish.....	15,542		0.5	
English.....	70,254		2.3	
French.....	80,038		1.6	
German.....		240,638		1.5
Irish.....		111,358		0.4
Scandinavian.....		226,700		1.7
Scotch.....	57,085		1.3	
Welsh.....		988	0.1	
Central, southern, and eastern European, and Levantine:				
Armenian.....	14,264		0.3	
Bohemian and Moravian (Czech).....		39,259		0.3
Bulgarian, Serbian, and Montenegrin.....		13,846	0.1	
Croatian and Slovenian.....		121,562		0.9
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....		3,234	0.1	
Finnish.....		64,368		0.4
Greek.....	88,128		2.1	
Hebrew.....		391,634		2.8
Italian (North).....		232,255		2.1
Italian (South).....		459,264		1.7
Lithuanian.....		41,625		0.2
Magyar.....		154,001		1.3
Polish.....		192,195		0.2
Portuguese ¹	15,269		0.4	
Rumanian.....		130	0.3	
Russian.....	106,567		1.9	
Ruthenian (Russniak).....	22,604		0.8	
Slovak.....		194,098		1.9
Spanish.....	40,979		0.8	
Syrian.....		7,505	(2)	(2)
Turkish.....		2,413	(2)	(2)
American:		9,848	(2)	(2)
Cuban.....			2.4	
Mexican.....	149,672		0.2	
Spanish American.....	7,991		0.1	
West Indian (except Cuban).....	810			
Other races and peoples:				
Chinese.....		297	0.1	
East Indian.....		805	0.1	
Japanese.....		65,279		0.5
Korean.....		6,753		0.1
African (black).....	35,011		0.7	
Pacific Islanders.....		656	(2)	(2)
Other peoples.....	17,389		0.3	

¹ Includes Atlantic Islanders.

² No change in per cent of total.

The Portuguese would include a large number of Atlantic Islanders, however. On the other hand, the Spanish are accurately estimated, since separate counts have been made for Mexican and Spanish American.

Moreover, Table 51 records notable advances between 1910 and 1920 in the absolute and the relative number of foreign-born peoples speaking mother tongues characteristic of the same ethnic families. Particularly noteworthy is the showing of the Spanish-speaking population, which registers an increase of close to 300,000 for the decade, and moves up from ninth to seventh place in numerical rank among the foreign born.

The increase in Mexican and Spanish-American peoples is even more strikingly brought out by this set of data. As has already been suggested, the rapid expansion of the Spanish-speaking foreign group, evidenced by Table 51, is in a large measure due to Mexican and Spanish-American migration. Table 157 serves to show how heavy is the proportion of Spanish-speaking peoples among this class of immigrants. Not less than 99.6 per cent of the 478,000 Mexicans in this country claim Spanish as their mother tongue; the Central and South Americans are 54.9 per cent Spanish-speaking; and the West Indians, 49.8 per cent. The total number of Spanish-speaking foreigners from these three regions thus approximates 500,000, or about 90 per cent, of the 556,000 Spanish element in this country. The bulk of the remaining 56,000 come from Spain.²⁴

The evidence based on the racial composition of recent immigration is even clearer in this regard. Reference to Table 158 establishes the fact that the Mexican immigration rose from 23,991 in 1900-1909 to 173,663 in 1910-1919, an increase of over 600 per cent. Table 55 reflects this remarkable gain by showing that in the period 1910-1919 the Mexican element appeared, for the first time, among the first ten races or peoples migrating to the United States. Table 158 indicates a similar tendency on the part of the Spanish-American immigration, which grew from 9,769 in 1900-1909 to 17,760 in 1910-1919, and Table 54 shows that the entire Spanish-American group—Mexican, Cuban and other West Indian, and Spanish American—increased by 148,625 and made up 2.7 per cent more of the total body of immigrants in the decennium ending 1919 than in the one preceding.

²⁴ There are in this country about 4,500 Spanish-speaking persons born in Greece and Turkey in Europe. These are probably in the main "Sephardim" or "Spanioli" Jews who were expelled from Spain at the close of the fifteenth century. Cf. Dixon: *The Racial History of Man*, New York, 1923, p. 163.

TABLE 55.—TEN PRINCIPAL RACES OR PEOPLES IMMIGRATING TO THE UNITED STATES: 1900-1919

Rank	1910 to 1919	1900 to 1909	Rank	1910 to 1919	1900 to 1909
1	Italian (South)	Italian (South)	6	Scandinavian	Italian (North)
2	Polish	Hebrew	7	Greek	Irish
3	Hebrew	Polish	8	Irish	English
4	English	German	9	Italian (North)	Slovak ¹
5	German	Scandinavian	10	Mexican	Magyar

¹ Probably largely Bohemian.

It goes without saying that there are important *ethnic* differences between the Mexican, West Indian, and the Central and South American "Spanish," on the one hand, and the Spanish-born Spanish, on the other. The former include a very heavy infusion of Indian blood, and—in the West Indies—of negro blood. The latter are, of course, true Spanish. Nevertheless, it must be repeated that there is a large measure of identity in *culture* between the two groups. They speak the same language, inherit the same customs, subscribe for the most part to the same type of religion, and share similar social and political heritages. As stated at the outset of this study, it is *culture* fully as much as it is *ethnic stock* that lends significance to the immigrant problem. Hence, this large, and rapidly expanding Spanish-speaking element in our population is bound to make an important impress upon the life of this country.

Tables 54, 158, and 159 corroborate the conclusions reached earlier in this chapter concerning the extent and origin of the recent negro migration to the United States. Table 54 shows the "African (black)" immigration to have increased by 35,011 in the second of the two decades under consideration. The source of this new negro migration is revealed by Table 159. Of the 63,263 "African" immigrants entering American ports in 1910-1919, 45,392 came from the West Indies, and 3,883 from Central America, while reference to the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration suggests that the Azores and Cape Verde Islands are the starting point of most of the remaining 13,988 negro migrants.²⁵ In other words, during the decade ended June 30, 1919, there came into this country a group of Portuguese, French, English, and Spanish-speaking negroes, hailing from Central America, the West Indies, and the Atlantic Islands, at the rate of about 6,000 per year.

²⁵ Thus, the reports for the 10 years ending June 30, 1919, show 8,832 "African" immigrants to have come from "Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands."

There can be no doubt but that this new racial drift will add novel and significant features to the negro problem of this country. As shown above, these foreign-born negroes congregate along the Atlantic seaboard, in the terminal points of the West Indian trade. Two of their three chief centers of settlement, New York and Boston, are northern cities; so that this group is serving to swell the rapidly expanding negro population in Northern States, and thereby to make the negro problem a national one, rather than primarily the concern of the South. Again, this migration is serving, in a considerable measure, to offset the rapid diminution in natural increase which the American negro population is suffering.²⁶

A far more significant, though less tangible, set of consequences of this population movement lies in the fact that these immigrant negroes have been accustomed to social and economic conditions far different from those which their race has experienced in the United States. In none of the countries from which they come has there been the type of race relations that often obtains in the United States; in certain of them the "color line" is nonexistent; and in certain others, such as Haiti and San Domingo, the negro is in the ascendency. It can not but be expected that these people will react strongly to this new environment, and that this reaction will cause repercussions within the native population, both negro and white, the nature and extent of which can only be conjectured at this time.

It is, of course, true that this foreign negro element is very small in comparison both with the total foreign-born population, and with the negro population. The intensity of race problems, however, usually gains in direct ratio to race differences, especially such differences as involve obvious physical characters. The Negro is *par excellence* a racial type to which this generalization applies. Accordingly, it would seem that this recently manifested population movement merits more serious consideration than its mere numerical importance would suggest.

For reasons made clear earlier in this study, the simplest and most generally useful basis of classifying the foreign stock in the United States is the country of origin. Yet, certain European nationalities are so racially diverse that some supplementary scheme of organization is necessary, to prevent such an analysis from being inadequate or even misleading. The data being considered here, namely, the race and mother tongue of the foreign population, provide this additional information. And it is the light thrown by this material

²⁶ Rossiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-132.

upon the ethnic composition of the various nationalities entering into American immigration that constitutes the *second* feature in which it contributes to this study. Tables 56 to 58, 157, and 159 are of particular pertinence in this connection.

TABLE 56.—REGION OF BIRTH OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, BY MOTHER TONGUE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

REGION OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1920		REGION OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1920	
	Number	Per cent distri- bution		Number	Per cent distri- bution
Europe.....	11,877,991	100.0	Europe—Continued.		
Northwestern Europe.....	5,514,978	100.0	Southern Europe.....	1,908,359	100.0
English and Celtic.....	2,162,077	39.2	Italian.....	1,604,702	84.1
German.....	1,779,614	32.3	Greek.....	168,608	8.8
Swedish.....	624,126	11.3	Portuguese.....	66,779	3.5
Norwegian.....	361,344	6.6	Spanish.....	52,031	2.7
Danish.....	188,759	3.4	Albanian.....	5,323	0.3
French.....	154,829	2.8	Bulgarian.....	2,658	0.1
Dutch and Frisian.....	133,881	2.4	English and Celtic.....	1,655	0.1
Flemish.....	45,445	0.8	German.....	1,583	0.1
Polish.....	29,160	0.5	All other.....	5,050	0.3
Yiddish and Hebrew.....	16,442	0.3	Other Europe.....	5,901	100.0
Italian.....	10,335	0.2	German.....	2,334	39.6
All other.....	8,906	0.2	Syrian and Arabic.....	809	13.7
Central Europe.....	2,644,758	100.0	Polish.....	443	7.5
Polish.....	970,914	36.7	English and Celtic.....	425	7.2
German.....	340,860	12.9	Czech.....	248	4.2
Slovak.....	270,865	10.2	Greek.....	215	3.6
Magyar.....	263,975	10.0	Slovak.....	200	3.4
Yiddish and Hebrew.....	233,274	8.8	Yiddish and Hebrew.....	152	2.6
Czech.....	232,016	8.8	Croatian.....	144	2.4
Serbo-Croatian.....	123,814	4.7	Italian.....	117	2.0
Slovenian.....	100,572	3.8	Spanish.....	108	1.8
Ruthenian.....	54,664	2.1	All other.....	706	12.0
Russian.....	23,568	0.9	Asia.....	110,450	100.0
Rumanian.....	9,386	0.4	Syrian and Arabic.....	55,312	50.1
Italian.....	5,323	0.2	Armenian.....	36,321	32.9
Lithuanian.....	4,533	0.2	Turkish.....	5,780	5.2
English and Celtic.....	2,552	0.1	English and Celtic.....	3,542	3.2
Slavic, not specified.....	1,985	0.1	Yiddish and Hebrew.....	3,098	2.8
All other.....	6,517	0.2	Greek.....	1,732	1.6
Eastern Europe.....	1,803,965	100.0	German.....	900	0.8
Yiddish and Hebrew.....	834,019	46.2	Persian.....	817	0.7
Russian.....	364,199	20.2	Russian.....	689	0.6
Lithuanian.....	175,727	9.7	All other.....	2,259	2.0
Finnish.....	132,113	7.3	America.....	1,656,801	100.0
German.....	125,540	7.0	English and Celtic.....	817,011	49.3
Polish.....	74,696	4.1	Spanish.....	501,279	30.3
Rumanian.....	51,639	2.9	French.....	308,857	18.6
Swedish.....	17,912	1.0	German.....	12,572	0.8
Bulgarian.....	9,775	0.5	Italian.....	3,635	0.2
Magyar.....	2,897	0.2	Yiddish and Hebrew.....	3,075	0.2
Greek.....	2,501	0.1	Portuguese.....	1,570	0.1
English and Celtic.....	2,408	0.1	All other.....	8,502	0.5
Slovak.....	2,353	0.1			
Spanish.....	1,426	0.1			
All other.....	6,460	0.4			

TABLE 57.—IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES, BY REGION OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND PRINCIPAL RACES OR PEOPLES: 1910-1919

REGION OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND RACE OR PEOPLE	Number	Per cent distribution	REGION OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND RACE OR PEOPLE	Number	Per cent distribution
Total immigration.....	6,347,380	100.0	Other Europe.....	6,527	0.1
Northwestern Europe.....	1,112,638	17.5	Greek.....	2,136	(?)
Scandinavian.....	236,207	3.7	Italian.....	790	(?)
English.....	214,721	3.4	Spanish.....	202	(?)
Irish.....	182,674	2.9	English.....	170	(?)
German.....	174,259	2.7	Rumanian.....	145	(?)
Scotch.....	84,565	1.3	All other races.....	3,084	(?)
Dutch.....	74,362	1.2	Asia.....	198,587	3.1
All other races.....	145,850	2.3	Japanese.....	76,270	1.2
Central Europe (including Bulgaria) ¹	1,151,907	18.6	Syrian.....	32,008	0.5
Polish.....	227,813	3.6	Armenian.....	25,482	0.4
Croatian and Slovenian.....	158,536	2.5	Greek.....	21,324	0.3
Magyar.....	147,009	2.3	Chinese.....	18,374	0.3
Slovak.....	133,198	2.1	All other races.....	24,131	0.4
German.....	125,600	2.0	America.....	1,070,539	16.9
All other races.....	389,751	6.1	English.....	189,523	3.0
Eastern Europe (excluding Bulgaria) ¹	1,191,713	18.8	Mexican.....	173,325	2.7
Hebrew.....	401,463	6.3	French.....	123,375	1.9
Polish.....	339,052	5.3	Scotch.....	81,080	1.3
Russian.....	147,316	2.3	Irish.....	73,120	1.2
Lithuanian.....	98,655	1.6	All other races.....	430,116	6.8
Finnish.....	62,335	1.0	Other countries.....	21,694	0.3
All other races.....	142,892	2.3	English.....	7,853	0.1
Southern Europe.....	1,563,775	24.6	Hebrew.....	2,379	(?)
Italian.....	1,226,076	19.3	Italian.....	1,499	(?)
Greek.....	189,989	3.0	Irish.....	1,491	(?)
Portuguese.....	73,444	1.2	Scotch.....	1,323	(?)
Spanish.....	51,229	0.8	All other races.....	7,149	0.1
African (black).....	8,876	0.1			
All other races.....	14,161	0.2			

¹ Bulgaria returned with Serbia and Montenegro in Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.
² Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

TABLE 58.—MOTHER TONGUE OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION BY PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF BIRTH, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

[Countries shown in this table represent their postwar areas]

MOTHER TONGUE AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1920		MOTHER TONGUE AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1920	
	Number	Per cent distribution		Number	Per cent distribution
All mother tongues.....	13,712,754	100.0	English and Celtic—Con.		
English and Celtic.....	3,007,932	21.9	Canada.....	789,347	26.2
Germanic.....	2,449,364	17.9	Scotland.....	252,994	8.4
Scandinavian.....	1,194,933	8.7	Wales.....	66,014	2.2
Latin and Greek.....	2,990,954	21.8	Newfoundland.....	13,075	0.4
Slavic and Lettic.....	2,460,332	17.9	West Indies ¹	11,364	0.4
Semitic.....	1,187,024	8.7	Australia.....	9,838	0.3
Ugro-Finn.....	401,679	2.9	Germany.....	3,917	0.1
Unclassified.....	13,370	0.1	Pacific Islands ¹	3,057	0.1
Unknown.....	7,166	0.1	India.....	2,287	0.1
English and Celtic.....	3,007,932	100.0	Africa.....	2,094	0.1
Ireland.....	1,035,944	34.4	Russia.....	1,934	0.1
England.....	797,358	26.5	At sea.....	1,842	0.1
			South America.....	1,734	0.1
			Other countries.....	14,233	0.5

¹ Except possessions of the United States.

TABLE 58.—MOTHER TONGUE OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION BY PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF BIRTH, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920—Continued

[Countries shown in this table represent their postwar areas.]

MOTHER TONGUE AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1920		MOTHER TONGUE AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1920	
	Number	Per cent distribution		Number	Percent distribution
Germanic:			Scandinavian—Continued.		
German.....	2,267,128	100.0	Danish.....	189,531	100.0
Germany.....	1,641,482	72.4	Denmark.....	185,564	97.9
Austria.....	201,603	8.9	Germany.....	2,589	1.4
Russia.....	116,535	5.1	Canada.....	891	0.2
Switzerland.....	97,087	4.3	Norway.....	269	0.1
Hungary.....	79,845	3.4	Sweden.....	197	0.1
Poland.....	39,179	1.7	Other countries.....	551	0.3
France.....	21,997	1.0	Latin and Greek:		
Czechoslovakia.....	16,446	0.7	Italian.....	1,624,998	100.0
Canada.....	11,136	0.5	Italy.....	1,604,492	98.7
Luxemburg.....	10,844	0.5	Switzerland.....	7,527	0.5
Rumania.....	8,167	0.4	Austria.....	4,256	0.3
Yugoslavia.....	7,787	0.3	South America.....	2,580	0.2
Belgium.....	1,910	0.1	France.....	1,918	0.1
At sea.....	1,825	0.1	Canada.....	847	0.1
Danzig.....	1,685	0.1	Other countries.....	3,378	0.2
Netherlands.....	1,677	0.1	French.....	466,956	100.0
Italy.....	1,497	0.1	Canada.....	307,790	65.9
England.....	1,488	0.1	France.....	125,589	26.9
Denmark.....	1,487	0.1	Belgium.....	12,793	2.7
Other countries.....	7,451	0.3	Switzerland.....	12,605	2.7
Dutch and Frisian.....	136,540	100.0	Germany.....	1,540	0.3
Netherlands.....	128,905	94.4	Luxemburg.....	1,283	0.3
Belgium.....	2,383	1.7	Italy.....	466	0.1
Germany.....	1,614	1.2	Austria.....	417	0.1
Canada.....	687	0.5	England.....	415	0.1
Switzerland.....	343	0.3	Africa.....	370	0.1
West Indies ¹	294	0.2	South America.....	364	0.1
Russia.....	290	0.2	West Indies ¹	371	0.1
Africa.....	285	0.2	Denmark.....	269	0.1
Hungary.....	207	0.2	Other countries.....	2,684	0.6
Austria.....	206	0.2	Spanish.....	556,111	100.0
Pacific Islands ¹	191	0.1	Mexico.....	476,618	85.7
Denmark.....	183	0.1	Spain.....	48,535	8.7
England.....	178	0.1	West Indies ¹	13,125	2.4
Luxemburg.....	144	0.1	South America.....	8,263	1.5
South America.....	144	0.1	Central America.....	3,228	0.6
Other countries.....	486	0.4	Greece.....	3,188	0.6
Flemish.....	45,696	100.0	Turkey in Europe.....	1,313	0.2
Belgium.....	44,776	98.0	Other countries.....	1,841	0.3
Netherlands.....	252	0.6	Portuguese.....	105,895	100.0
France.....	249	0.5	Portugal.....	66,726	63.0
Luxemburg.....	87	0.2	Atlantic Islands ²	37,314	35.2
Canada.....	104	0.2	South America.....	1,419	1.3
Other countries.....	228	0.5	West Indies ¹	110	0.1
Scandinavian:			Other countries.....	326	0.3
Swedish.....	643,203	100.0	Rumanian.....	62,336	100.0
Sweden.....	621,545	96.6	Rumania.....	51,682	82.9
Finland.....	17,721	2.8	Hungary.....	4,646	7.5
Norway.....	1,546	0.2	Austria.....	4,399	7.1
Canada.....	658	0.1	Greece.....	383	0.6
Denmark.....	619	0.1	Yugoslavia.....	220	0.4
Other countries.....	1,114	0.2	Canada.....	188	0.3
Norwegian.....	362,199	100.0	Russia.....	164	0.3
Norway.....	350,754	99.6	Turkey in Asia.....	100	0.2
Canada.....	462	0.1	Albania.....	98	0.2
Sweden.....	308	0.1	Poland.....	77	0.1
At sea.....	184	0.1	England.....	64	0.1
Other countries.....	491	0.1	Bulgaria.....	64	0.1
			Other countries.....	251	0.4

¹ Except possessions of the United States.² Includes Azores and Cape Verde Islands.

TABLE 58.—MOTHER TONGUE OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION BY PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF BIRTH, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920—Continued

[Countries shown in this table represent their postwar areas.]

MOTHER TONGUE AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1920		MOTHER TONGUE AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1920	
	Number	Per cent distribution		Number	Per cent distribution
Latin and Greek—Con.			Slavic and Lettic—Con.		
Greek.....	174,658	100.0	Russian—Continued.		
Greece.....	168,270	96.3	Germany.....	397	0.1
Turkey in Europe.....	2,034	1.2	Other countries.....	1,485	0.4
Turkey in Asia.....	1,451	0.8			
Austria.....	634	0.4	Ruthenian.....	55,672	100.0
Poland.....	245	0.1	Poland.....	43,534	78.2
Europe, not specified.....	215	0.1	Austria.....	7,452	13.4
Russia.....	202	0.1	Czechoslovakia.....	3,228	5.8
Africa.....	197	0.1	Russia.....	545	1.0
Yugoslavia.....	194	0.1	Hungary.....	359	0.6
Albania.....	187	0.1	Rumania.....	203	0.4
Italy.....	135	0.1	Yugoslavia.....	111	0.2
Bulgaria.....	134	0.1	Canada.....	90	0.2
Rumania.....	129	0.1	Other countries.....	170	0.3
Armenia.....	110	0.1			
Syria.....	105	0.1	Slovenian.....	102,744	100.0
Other countries.....	410	0.2	Yugoslavia.....	40,388	45.1
			Austria.....	44,611	43.4
Slavic and Lettic:			Czechoslovakia.....	5,078	5.5
Polish.....	1,077,392	100.0	Hungary.....	3,200	3.2
Poland.....	922,812	85.7	Poland.....	605	0.6
Russia.....	72,065	6.7	Russia.....	547	0.5
Austria.....	43,618	4.0	Italy.....	400	0.5
Germany.....	27,853	2.6	Germany.....	305	0.3
Hungary.....	2,138	0.2	Rumania.....	128	0.1
Lithuania.....	1,840	0.2	Other countries.....	702	0.7
Czechoslovakia.....	1,537	0.1			
Canada.....	978	0.1	Serbo-Croatian.....	125,844	100.0
England.....	852	0.1	Yugoslavia.....	94,114	74.8
Yugoslavia.....	809	0.1	Austria.....	24,028	19.1
Other countries.....	2,890	0.3	Hungary.....	4,466	3.5
			Czechoslovakia.....	908	0.7
Czech.....	234,564	100.0	Italy.....	528	0.4
Czechoslovakia.....	190,868	81.4	Poland.....	298	0.2
Austria.....	38,820	16.5	Greece.....	205	0.2
Hungary.....	1,287	0.5	Russia.....	155	0.1
Russia.....	908	0.4	Flume.....	143	0.1
Germany.....	700	0.3	Rumania.....	140	0.1
Yugoslavia.....	637	0.3	Germany.....	136	0.1
Poland.....	404	0.2	Canada.....	114	0.1
Europe, not specified.....	245	0.1	Other countries.....	609	0.5
Canada.....	136	0.1			
Other countries.....	559	0.2	Bulgarian.....	12,853	100.0
			Bulgaria.....	9,462	73.6
Slovak.....	274,048	100.0	Greece.....	2,651	20.6
Czechoslovakia.....	133,179	48.4	Turkey in Europe.....	177	1.4
Austria.....	90,370	32.9	Yugoslavia.....	129	1.0
Hungary.....	28,771	10.5	Russia.....	93	0.7
Yugoslavia.....	13,815	5.0	Germany.....	78	0.6
Poland.....	4,730	1.7	Austria.....	76	0.6
Russia.....	1,730	0.6	Hungary.....	64	0.5
Germany.....	374	0.1	Other countries.....	123	1.0
Rumania.....	343	0.1			
Italy.....	245	0.1	Slavic, not specified.....	2,039	100.0
Canada.....	187	0.1	Hungary.....	1,615	79.2
Europe, not specified.....	141	0.1	Austria.....	343	16.8
Other countries.....	1,063	0.4	Germany.....	33	1.6
			Other countries.....	48	2.4
Russian ^a	392,049	100.0			
Russia.....	361,843	92.3	Lithuanian and Lettish.....	182,227	100.0
Austria.....	12,117	3.1	Lithuania.....	126,441	69.4
Poland.....	8,781	2.2	Russia.....	49,140	27.0
England.....	1,327	0.3	Poland.....	3,446	1.9
Hungary.....	1,255	0.3	Austria.....	682	0.4
Lithuania.....	1,157	0.3	Germany.....	634	0.3
Canada.....	984	0.3	Scotland.....	415	0.2
Rumania.....	936	0.2	England.....	404	0.2
Czechoslovakia.....	928	0.2	Czechoslovakia.....	179	0.1
Yugoslavia.....	427	0.1	Yugoslavia.....	146	0.1
Asia, not specified.....	412	0.1	Canada.....	139	0.1
			Other countries.....	601	0.3

^a Probably includes a considerable proportion of Hebrews erroneously reported as of Russian mother tongue.

TABLE 58.—MOTHER TONGUE OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION BY PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF BIRTH, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920—Continued

[Countries shown in this table represent their postwar areas.]

MOTHER TONGUE AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1920		MOTHER TONGUE AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE: 1920	
	Number	Percent distribution		Number	Percent distribution
Semitic:			Ugro-Finn—Continued.		
Yiddish and Hebrew.....	1,691,820	100.0	Finnish.....	133,567	100.0
Russia.....	791,181	72.5	Finland.....	130,898	97.9
Poland.....	114,362	10.5	Russia.....	1,591	1.0
Austria.....	99,279	9.1	Sweden.....	580	0.4
Rumania.....	37,287	3.4	Canada.....	388	0.3
Hungary.....	16,964	1.6	Norway.....	313	0.2
England.....	9,845	0.9	Other countries.....	181	0.1
Lithuania.....	4,971	0.5			
Germany.....	3,109	0.3	Unclassified and unknown:		
Canada.....	2,687	0.2	Turkish.....	6,627	100.0
Czechoslovakia.....	2,024	0.2	Turkey in Asia.....	5,326	80.4
Palestine.....	1,668	0.1	Turkey in Europe.....	416	6.3
France.....	897	0.1	Armenia.....	263	4.0
Turkey in Asia.....	796	0.1	Greece.....	223	3.4
Italy.....	712	0.1	Syria.....	167	1.6
Scotland.....	684	0.1	Palestine.....	48	0.7
Ireland.....	664	0.1	Albania.....	41	0.6
Yugoslavia.....	645	0.1	Bulgaria.....	32	0.5
Other countries.....	4,114	0.4	Asia, not specified.....	35	0.5
			Other countries.....	136	2.1
Armenian.....	37,647	100.0	Albanian.....	5,515	100.0
Armenia.....	35,321	93.8	Albania.....	5,086	92.2
Turkey in Asia.....	524	1.4	Greece.....	119	2.2
Russia.....	471	1.3	Italy.....	118	2.1
Turkey in Europe.....	391	1.0	Turkey in Europe.....	39	0.7
Asia, not specified.....	313	0.8	France.....	32	0.6
Syria.....	131	0.3	Other countries.....	121	2.2
Africa.....	78	0.2			
Greece.....	55	0.1	All other.....	1,228	100.0
Austria.....	54	0.1	Asia, not specified.....	802	65.3
Bulgaria.....	51	0.1	Africa.....	173	14.1
Other countries.....	258	0.7	Russia.....	51	4.2
Syrian and Arabic.....	57,557	100.0	Yugoslavia.....	42	3.4
Syria.....	50,727	88.1	Austria.....	23	1.9
Turkey in Asia.....	1,656	2.9	Other countries.....	137	11.2
Asia, not specified.....	1,640	2.8			
Palestine.....	1,183	2.1	Unknown.....	7,166	100.0
Europe, not specified.....	807	1.4	Austria.....	1,327	18.5
Africa.....	495	0.9	Unknown.....	1,196	16.7
Yugoslavia.....	160	0.3	Poland.....	662	9.2
Canada.....	139	0.2	Russia.....	507	7.1
South America.....	96	0.2	West Indies ¹	471	6.6
Armenia.....	93	0.2	Hungary.....	369	5.1
Mexico.....	77	0.1	South America.....	348	4.9
Turkey in Europe.....	62	0.1	Europe, not specified.....	343	4.8
Greece.....	58	0.1	Germany.....	300	4.2
Austria.....	52	0.1	Yugoslavia.....	263	2.8
Other countries.....	312	0.5	At sea.....	159	2.2
Ugro-Finn:			Atlantic Islands ²	137	1.9
Hungary.....	268,112	100.0	Luxemburg.....	122	1.8
Hungary.....	253,780	94.7	Africa.....	115	1.6
Czechoslovakia.....	6,682	2.5	Turkey in Asia.....	103	1.4
Yugoslavia.....	2,678	1.0	Central America.....	102	1.4
Rumania.....	2,666	1.0	Switzerland.....	90	1.3
Poland.....	817	0.3	Asia, not specified.....	78	1.1
Germany.....	375	0.1	Belgium.....	72	1.0
Canada.....	281	0.1	Finland.....	69	1.0
Russia.....	244	0.1	France.....	51	0.7
Other countries.....	649	0.2	Other countries.....	292	4.1

¹ Except possessions of the United States.² Includes Azores and Cape Verde Islands.

The data provided by this group of tables derive their chief interest from the light they throw upon the racial composition of the central and eastern European and the Levantine immigration. Among the north, west, and south European peoples there is a large measure of correspondence between national boundaries and ethnic divisions, so that in their case the classification by country of birth requires little supplementation.

At least two aspects of the race and language characteristics of these "old" immigrants are, nevertheless, worthy of note. The first is the relative number of Irish among the more recent immigrants from the United Kingdom. The second is the racial complex in Switzerland, France, Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxemburg.

From Table 159 it is seen that out of approximately 538,000 arrivals from the United Kingdom in 1910-1919, slightly more than 182,000, or 33.8 per cent, were Irish. That is to say, there are to-day about two English, Scotch, and Welsh immigrants to every Irish immigrant—a state of affairs very different from that existing in the "eighteen forties and fifties."

The peculiarities of the ethnic situation in Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Netherlands are set forth in Tables 157 and 159.

Both show that the Swiss immigration consists chiefly of Germans, with a minority of French, and a still smaller minority of Italians, and that the Belgian, Dutch, and Luxemburger populations are a confused medley of German, French, Flemish, Dutch, and Frisians. In other words, this group of countries has not sent to the United States a uniform class of immigrants, but a diverse group, whose racial types and cultural characteristics are affiliated with one or another of the larger neighboring nationalities.

The French immigration is notable for the surprisingly large number of Germans included within it. Table 157 indicates that 14.4 per cent of the natives of France²⁷ now resident in this country claim German as their mother tongue, and Table 159, that during the decade ended 1919 some 2,440 out of 60,335 French immigrants spoke German. It is probable that most of these "German-French" came from the border provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

These ethnic complications are, however, as nothing in comparison with those indicated for central and eastern Europe. Tables 56 and 58 show how complex are the race and language groups in central and eastern Europe and in the Near East. Central Europe presents the most confused picture, for, according to Table 56, the 2,644,000 foreign born originating from that region contain not less than 8 separate language families numbering over 100,000 each. The majority of the lingual stocks represented in this group are various branches of the Slavic-speaking peoples; yet they make up by no

²⁷ Postwar boundaries are used in this table.

means all of it. Over 30 per cent are of German, Hebrew, or Magyar mother tongue. Much the same distribution of peoples is shown by the racial classification of immigrants from this region, set forth in Table 57.

The data for the separate countries of central Europe in Tables 58 and 157 display a similar sort of ethnic mosaic for each nationality, as well as for the whole body of immigrants from that area. Thus, Table 157 shows that in only one foreign-born national group are there as many as 80 per cent of one mother tongue. This is the immigration coming from Poland. Among the Hungarians, the dominant Magyars make up not quite 64 per cent of the total; among the Czechoslovaks, the Czechs, who are the principal language group, are only 52.7 per cent of the whole nationality; among the Austrians, the German-speaking element is a bare 35 per cent of that country's representation, and the Croats make up only slightly more than that percentage of the Yugoslavian quota. The remaining 20 to 65 per cent in each nationality contains a congeries of Hebrews, Germans, and various Slavic elements. This does not mean that the actual populations of these countries are made up of similar proportions of these various races. It is among the immigrants from these countries that this diversity exists. And the reason is pretty plain. *The minority race groups emigrate much more readily than those composing the dominant majorities.* It is the minorities who suffer from religious persecution, social discrimination, and restricted economic opportunity, and who, therefore, seek the wider opportunities of the New World much more numerous in proportion to their population than do the more favorably situated majority races. That is to say, the peoples in central Europe display a far greater variety of races, languages, and cultures than consideration of national boundary lines alone would indicate. And the race friction arising out of this state of affairs causes this racial diversity to appear in an exaggerated form among the immigrants sent by this region to America, for the burden of this friction bears most heavily upon the minority elements among these peoples and gives them a special motive to seek an asylum in this country.

Examination of the data for eastern Europe leads to similar results. Much the same sort of "confusion of tongues" is manifested by Tables 56 and 57, covering the whole region, as well as by Tables 58 and 157, which take up each country within the area. There is, of course, a difference in the races involved. The Germans lose in prominence, and the Ugro-Finn stock, particularly the Finnish element, gains. Moreover, the Hebrews assume a leading position among all the immigrants from eastern Europe. Of 1,191,713 eastern Europeans admitted to the United States in 1910-1919, over one-third, or 401,463, were Hebrews. And 46.2 per cent of the eastern

European foreign born enumerated as of 1920 claim "Yiddish and Hebrew" as their mother tongue, while it is likely that a considerable number of the additional 20.2 per cent Russian-speaking foreigners from that region are also Hebrews.²⁸ This predominant Hebrew strain among the eastern European immigrants throws into high relief the generalization just made concerning racial minorities. The Hebrews are not nearly so numerous in eastern Europe as their prominence among the immigrants from there would suggest. However, they have been a bitterly oppressed people, and they consequently appear among the immigrants from that area in far higher proportion than have other peoples.

Even more strongly marked is this tendency when the data for the separate eastern countries are examined. Thus it appears from Table 157 that at least 56.5 per cent—probably more—of the Russian-born foreigners in this country are Hebrew. When it is remembered that less than 4 per cent of the population of European Russia is Hebrew,²⁹ this heavy influx of Russian Hebrews appears truly remarkable. The Rumanian born exhibit likewise an abnormally high percentage of Hebrew-speaking peoples, namely, 36.3 per cent of that group. Moreover, Table 159 shows that, among recent immigrants from Rumania, the Hebrews have been greatly in the majority, making up 10,088 out of 13,566 coming from that country.³⁰

An even more striking example of the same tendency is manifested by the small group of foreign born originating in European Turkey. A bare 416 out of 5,284 of these Turkish born, resident in this country in 1920, speak the Turkish tongue. The overwhelming majority speak Greek, Spanish,³¹ Armenian, and Yiddish or Hebrew. Obviously, it is the racial minorities, suffering from religious animosities and political conflict, who make up the bulk of "Turkish" immigrants to this country.

The south European immigration is not so mixed in race and language. Tables 157 and 159 show that over 90 per cent of the immigrants from each south European country belong to the dominant racial or language group in that country. It is true that, according to Table 159, a rather large number of Portuguese immigrants are recorded as of "African" or Negro race, but, as is indicated by the footnote attached to that table, most of these are not natives of Portugal, but of the Portuguese-owned Cape Verde and Azores Islands.

²⁸ Cf. Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. II, Ch. X, p. 967. This conclusion is based on the fact that there is an abnormal and otherwise inexplicable increase in the Russian-speaking population in the 1920 census as compared with the 1910 census.

²⁹ About 5,000,000 out of 125,000,000. Encyclopedia Britannica, eleventh edition, Cambridge, 1911, Vol. XXIII, p. 885 (article on "Russia" by Walter A. Phillips).

³⁰ For the political and religious background of Rumanian Hebrew immigration, see Joseph, Jewish Immigration to the United States, New York, 1914, pp. 66, 67.

³¹ Probably "Spanish" Hebrews.

The foreign born from the Near East deserve some attention. As with central and eastern Europe, the immigration from this region reflects an exceedingly confused racial situation, with Greeks, Armenians, Hebrews, and Syrians in the majority. It is true that, in apparent contradiction to the tendency just pointed out, Table 157 shows that the Armenian and Syrian speaking peoples make up the bulk of the Armenian and Syrian immigrations—that is, the Armenian and Syrian immigrants represent the dominant groups in those countries; yet both of these nationalities really represent isolated, almost beleaguered, groups, surrounded, outnumbered, and harried by hostile neighbors, so that the generalization regarding racial minorities still applies to them.

The most noteworthy features of the ethnic make-up of the various immigrants from other parts of the Western Hemisphere have already been discussed. Of minor interest is the unexpectedly large proportion of non-Spanish-speaking persons coming from Central and South America. Table 157 brings out the fact that only a little more than half of the foreign born from Central and South America are of Spanish mother tongue. The rest are Italian, English and Celtic, Portuguese, German, and French. The Portuguese are, probably, in the main, from Brazil, while the French and English may represent, in part, inhabitants of French and British Guiana. The Italians and Germans, however, and many of the French and English are probably relatively recent arrivals from Europe, who, after having tried their fortunes in one or another of the countries to the south, have reemigrated thence to the United States. In addition, a few may be sons and daughters of an earlier generation of European immigrants to these southern countries. Altogether, there are about 7,688 of these Portuguese, Italian, English, French, and German speaking "Spanish-Americans," furnishing another interesting example of the devious and unsuspected channels by which the population stream of this country is being fed.

There remains to be considered the *third* set of factors brought out by these tables, namely, the extent and distribution of certain nonnational and extra-national stocks. Table 58 is of major interest in this connection. Two types of racial dispersion are exhibited by this and the accompanying tables. The first is that of the *non-national* groups; the second is that of the *extra-national*. The most important example of the nonnational stocks is the Hebrew. Excepting in the recently established mandate of Palestine, there is no geographical region over which this people exercises political sovereignty; hence, if the foreign stock of this country were classified merely according to nationality, this important element would

be completely disregarded. There are, nevertheless, at least 1,091,000 Yiddish and Hebrew speaking persons among the foreign born of this country, probably many more. So numerous are they, indeed, that they rank fourth among the mother-tongue groups of the foreign born.

The dispersion that they show is remarkable. They come from more than 17 different countries, a greater number than is displayed by any other language group excepting the German. Thus, possessing no homeland of their own, they have come to this country from regions as widely separated as Canada and Asia Minor.

Considerably smaller nonnational groups are the Ruthenian and the Slovenian, there being only 55,672 of the former and 102,744 of the latter in this country in 1920. Both come from much the same territories—Russia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia—the former being most heavily concentrated in Poland and Austria, the latter in Yugoslavia and Austria.

The *extra-national* language groups are those composed of peoples who overflow their national boundaries into both adjacent and far distant countries. In one sense all the immigrant peoples of the United States are extra-national, since they are now outside their own national boundaries. But, as used here, the term applies to those who come to this country from regions other than those ordinarily associated with their ethnic type. Of these the most important are the German, English and Celtic, Polish, Spanish, and French. The Germans show the widest dispersion measured according to number of countries from which they come; the English, the widest measured in the volume of immigration originating outside the original mother country. Thus there were at the last census Germans in this country born in 18 countries outside of Germany. As for the English, out of 3,007,000 English and Celtic speaking foreign born, only 26.5 per cent were born in England. Of the remainder, it is true, the most were born in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, yet as many as 789,000, or 26.2 per cent, were of Canadian birth. Somewhat the same relationships are exhibited by the French-speaking foreign born, of whom only 26.9 per cent were born in France, while 65.9 per cent were French Canadians.

As previous portions of this discussion have indicated, only a small minority of the Spanish population of this country ever saw Spain, over 90 per cent coming from Mexico, the West Indies, or Spanish-America.

The wide dispersion of these and other extra-national groups leads to an important generalization: *Several ethnic groups are seriously underestimated in any analysis of the foreign stock that takes into account only country of origin.* Particularly does this apply to the

English and Celtic. Most of those so classified are English-speaking, Celtic as a living mother tongue being of only minor importance among the foreign born of this country.³² Now, the *English-born* English compose only 5.8 per cent of the total foreign-born white, yet the *English-speaking* foreign born are 21.9 per cent of the foreign-born population, easily leading all other language groups. In so far as language uniformity implies cultural uniformity, there is, and for a long time has been going on, a very much heavier absorption of English elements by the population of this country than a cursory examination of recent statistics would indicate. It is true that within the group there are important differences, more especially between the southern Irish and the other English and Celtic speaking elements. Yet there is, in general, a common language, and this is probably the most important single feature of any group's cultural endowment. There is one significant corollary from this fact. In view of the startling statistics which are often published concerning the large number of non-English-speaking immigrants coming into this country in recent years, it is well to remember that *the largest single language group entering the United States is one which speaks the tongue that always has prevailed and probably always will prevail in this country.*

The obverse of this is also true, however. It should not be forgotten that certain non-English-speaking elements, such as the German, Polish, Spanish, and French, are far more numerous even than the immigration from Germany, Poland, Spain, and France suggests, and that, in addition, there is a fifth non-English-speaking people—the Hebrews—which outnumbers every language group excepting the English, German, and Italian.

The foregoing analysis of the ethnic and linguistic grouping of the foreign stock calls attention to certain points of general import. In the first place, it brings out the unreliability of any generalizations based solely on the country of origin of the foreign born. If this additional basis of classification were not utilized, such a significant group as the Hebrews would entirely escape observation, and such an interesting movement as the recent negro influx would scarcely be noticed. Again, without this type of analysis, the significance of such important cultural groups as the English, German, and Spanish speaking elements would be seriously underrated.

Again, there seems to be a tendency on the part of certain students of immigration to ignore the whole question of the language and culture characteristics of the foreign stock and to concentrate their attention upon none too clearly identifiable ethnic traits. In view of the decisive role that language and culture drifts have played in

³² The Celtic language revival has naturally not made as much headway here as in Ireland.

human history,³³ such an attitude is unfortunate. This material brings out the magnitude of certain of these cultural entities, and so serves to recall the student's attention to this aspect of the immigrant problem. It is to be regretted that these data are not available for a longer period of years; and it is further to be regretted that the material on "races and peoples" collected by the Bureau of Immigration is not more closely comparable with that for "mother tongues" tabulated by the Bureau of the Census.

A second result of this portion of the study is the evidence that it seems to furnish of a tendency on the part of certain minority ethnic groups to leave their native lands in relatively greater numbers than the more advantaged majority elements by which they are dominated. This phenomenon raises a question to which a complete answer can not be attempted in this monograph. The question is whether recent studies of the immigrant problem have not somewhat overstressed the importance of *economic* as distinguished from *religious* and *political* pressure in the motivation behind recent immigration. It is often said that the "old" immigrant came to this country largely in search of political freedom and religious tolerance, but that the "new" immigrant is prompted by a different and, by implication, less worthy set of motives, namely, the search for better economic opportunities. Now, if this were so, would not *all* the peoples of a given area, living under the same economic conditions, the same wage scales, the same stage of industrial development, and the like, seek to better themselves in about the same proportion? And does not the fact that one race emigrates to America many times as heavily as another suggest that certain special factors, such as political and religious oppression, are operating upon that race? Economic influences there undoubtedly are, as there undoubtedly have been during the entire colonization and settlement of this country. Yet there have also been religious and political factors behind the "new" as well as the "old" immigration. Hence, it is likely that there is considerably less difference than is often thought to exist between the motivation of the immigrant of this and of an earlier generation.³⁴

Finally, the surprising resurgence of the "old" immigrant race stocks displayed in Tables 53 and 156 raises many interesting problems. It may be merely a statistical freak which would not appear if there were a more adequate basis of comparison. On the other hand, it may herald a swing back to older sources of immigration, such as the present "quota" legislation directly fosters. At all

³³ Cf. the Aryan or Indo-Germanic language and culture drift in Europe and Asia, and the Celtic drift in western Europe and the British Isles. Wissler, C., *Man and Culture*, New York, 1923, *passim*.

³⁴ Cf., in this connection, Boeckh, "The Determination of Racial Stock among American Immigrants," in *American Statistical Association publications*, new series, No. 76, Dec., 1906, pp. 206, 207.

events, it emphasizes a point that has been repeatedly stressed; namely, that the "old" and "new" immigrant groups are, merely as statistical units, let alone as anthropological, social, or political entities, much less well defined than is often supposed.

3. TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN STOCK, BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND MOTHER TONGUE

Near the beginning of this monograph a chapter is devoted to the territorial distribution of the foreign stock as a whole, and a later chapter gives some attention to the urban and rural location of the foreign born according to the year of their arrival in the United States. The analysis undertaken here is more in the nature of a rounding out of these earlier ones than a full exposition of the settlement of the various ethnic components of the foreign population. Indeed, so voluminous and complicated is the material concerned⁵⁵ that it is impossible in this study to undertake its complete examination.

The data fall into two groups: First, the geographic divisions or States in which the several categories of the foreign stock are settled and, second, the relative urbanization of these groups. Certain conclusions of general significance constitute a third item of discussion.

Considerable difficulty attaches to the exposition of the *first* topic, namely, the distribution of the foreign stock by country of origin and mother tongue and by geographic divisions and States. The material is too extensive to permit of satisfactory tabular summarization, most of the tables dealing with it being too bulky to be inserted in the text. The difficulty can be overcome, in part, by the liberal use of maps. Hence, Maps 1 to 15, as well as Tables 59, 60, and 160 to 166, deal with this phase of the question.

The material may be grouped under three heads: The distribution of the "old" and "new" European immigrants, the distribution of American immigrants, and the diffusion of the non-English-speaking elements in our immigration.

Attention has already been given to the territorial distribution of the "old" and "new" immigrants, the data relating to the year of immigration having been seen to indicate that the former were concentrated in the northern and western Mississippi Valley.

Examination of the various nationalities composing the "old" immigration gives this generalization partial, but only partial, confirmation.

⁵⁵ For example, there are 43 separate countries of birth and 32 mother tongues; so that a table covering the 9 geographic divisions, the 48 States, and the District of Columbia requires 2,494 entries for country of birth and 1,856 for mother tongue.

TABLE 59.—FIVE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, FOR EACH GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	Rank	Country of birth	GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	Rank	Country of birth
New England.....	1	Canada.	East South Central.	1	Germany.
	2	Ireland.		2	Italy.
	3	Italy.		3	Russia and Lithuania.
	4	Russia and Lithuania.		4	England.
	5	England.		5	Ireland.
Middle Atlantic.....	1	Italy.	West South Central.	1	Mexico.
	2	Russia and Lithuania.		2	Germany.
	3	Poland.		3	Italy.
	4	Germany.		4	Czechoslovakia.
	5	Ireland.		5	Russia and Lithuania.
East North Central.	1	Germany.	Mountain.....	1	Mexico.
	2	Poland.		2	England.
	3	Russia and Lithuania.		3	Canada.
	4	Canada.		4	Germany.
	5	Italy.		5	Sweden.
West North Central.	1	Germany.	Pacific.....	1	Canada.
	2	Sweden.		2	Italy.
	3	Norway.		3	Germany.
	4	Russia and Lithuania.		4	Mexico.
	5	Canada.		5	England.
South Atlantic.....	1	Russia and Lithuania.			
	2	Germany.			
	3	Italy.			
	4	Poland.			
	5	England.			

TABLE 60.—RELATIVE RANK, IN EACH GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION, OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION: 1920

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	RANK BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS ¹								
	New England	Middle Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific
Germany.....		4	1	1	2	1	2	4	3
Italy.....	3	1	5	5	3	2	3		2
Russia and Lithuania.....	4	2	3	4	1	3	5		
Canada.....	1		4	5				3	1
England.....	5				5	4		2	5
Mexico.....							1	1	4
Poland.....		3	2		4				
Ireland.....	2	5				5			
Sweden.....				2				5	
Norway.....				3					
Czechoslovakia.....							4		

¹ Includes only those countries which rank among the first 5 in any division; for example, Norway is shown only in the West North Central division, in which it ranks third.

Tables 59 and 60 show the five leading nationalities among the foreign born in each geographic division. Among them the German, English, Irish, and Scandinavian come from northwestern Europe. All of them achieve prominence among the foreign born in one or another of the Mississippi Valley sections,³⁰ but they are by no means concentrated there. The Germans rank third in the Pacific division, while the English rank fifth in New England, the South Atlantic, and the Pacific States, and second in the Mountain region. The Swedes,

* East and West North Central divisions and East and West South Central divisions.

likewise, are among the first five in the Mountain States. As for the Irish, they are prominent in only one of the Mississippi Valley areas, and that one is the East South Central division, in the heart of the "old South," where conditions are totally different from the other Mississippi Valley areas, and where immigration is, moreover, of only minor importance. It is in New England and the Middle Atlantic regions that the Irish are most prominent, and, as will be seen presently, it is these same regions in which many of the "new" immigrants are prominent.

In Table 61 is shown the leading country of birth of the foreign born for each State. Even though the material is only one-fifth as inclusive as that covered by the preceding table, yet it exhibits much the same tendency. The "old" immigrants are by no means confined to the Middle West. The Germans, for example, are unexpectedly prominent in Oregon; the English in North Carolina, Utah, and Wyoming; and the Swedes in Idaho.

TABLE 61.—LEADING COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, FOR EACH STATE: 1920

DIVISION AND STATE	Leading country of birth	DIVISION AND STATE	Leading country of birth
New England:		South Atlantic—Continued.	
Maine.....	Canada—Other.	West Virginia.....	Italy.
New Hampshire.....	Canada—French.	North Carolina.....	England.
Vermont.....	Do.	South Carolina.....	Russia.
Massachusetts.....	Ireland.	Georgia.....	Do.
Rhode Island.....	Italy.	Florida.....	West Indies.
Connecticut.....	Do.	East South Central:	
Middle Atlantic:		Kentucky.....	Germany.
New York.....	Do.	Tennessee.....	Russia.
New Jersey.....	Do.	Alabama.....	Italy.
Pennsylvania.....	Do.	Mississippi.....	Do.
East North Central:		West South Central:	
Ohio.....	Germany.	Arkansas.....	Germany.
Indiana.....	Do.	Louisiana.....	Italy.
Illinois.....	Do.	Oklahoma.....	Germany.
Michigan.....	Canada—Other.	Texas.....	Mexico.
Wisconsin.....	Germany.	Mountain:	
West North Central:		Montana.....	Canada—Other
Minnesota.....	Sweden.	Idaho.....	Sweden.
Iowa.....	Germany.	Wyoming.....	England.
Missouri.....	Do.	Colorado.....	Russia.
North Dakota.....	Norway.	New Mexico.....	Mexico.
South Dakota.....	Do.	Arizona.....	Do.
Nebraska.....	Germany.	Utah.....	England.
Kansas.....	Do.	Nevada.....	Italy.
South Atlantic:		Pacific:	
Delaware.....	Italy.	Washington.....	Canada—Other.
Maryland.....	Russia.	Oregon.....	Germany.
District of Columbia.....	Do.	California.....	Mexico.
Virginia.....	Do.		

Tables 160 to 166 and Maps 1 to 15 also reveal a greater diffusion among the north and west Europeans than would be expected. Thus, Map 1 indicates that the German born compose at least one-tenth of the total foreign-born population in 27 States, including New York, New Jersey, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, while Table 160 shows the Irish to be equally prominent only in New England, in the District of Columbia, and the States of New York, Delaware, and Kentucky.

Table 161 provides additional evidence of the same sort. It is based on the percentage resident in each State of each foreign-born group. Its most noteworthy feature is the fact that New York contains a large proportion of virtually every important foreign-born group, "old" or "new." For example, 27.5 per cent of all the Irish, 8.5 per cent of the Swedes and the Belgians, 21 per cent of the French, and 17.5 per cent of the Germans are residents of New York. The figures for geographic divisions in this table show that 8 out of 13 "old," or northern and western European, nationalities have over one-fourth of their number residing in New England or the Middle Atlantic area, that is, away from the agricultural States in which they are commonly supposed to have settled almost exclusively.

Maps 8 and 12, based on Table 161, have to do with two typical "old" immigrant groups. The Norwegians appear to be fairly well concentrated in the Middle West and Northwest, but the largest percentage of Germans is not in a Western State at all, but in New York, as has been seen to be the case with most of the other foreign-born nationalities.

Before turning to the question of the distribution of the "new" immigrants in the United States, it may be well to note the contrast between the present and past generations of "old" immigration. Tables 162 to 164 and Maps 4 and 5 relate to this topic. As might be expected, up until about 1900, the "old" immigrant stocks were the leading ones among the foreign born throughout the country, excepting in the West South Central division, where according to Table 162, the Mexicans have ranked second among the foreign born since 1870, and first since 1910.

Tables 163 and 164 reflect the persistence of the "old" immigrant types among the children of the foreign born. The sons and daughters of German, Irish, Scandinavian, and English are numerically important not only in those groups of States where the foreign born of these same nationalities are prominent, but in other areas where the latter are now submerged by "new" immigrants, Mexicans, or Canadians. A striking example of this more far-flung representation of the second generation of north and west Europeans is furnished by Maps 4 and 5. The former shows the *Irish-born* to be 5 per cent or over of the foreign population in but five geographic divisions, while the latter shows the *children of Irish* to be 5 per cent or over of the second generation immigrant population in all nine geographic divisions.

The "new" immigration displays an even greater and more bewildering diffusion than the "old." Thus, Table 59 indicates that, in all of the geographic divisions except the Mountain, either the Italians or the Russians and Lithuanians³⁷ are among the first five

³⁷ Largely Hebrews.

foreign-born nationalities. Again, the Polish born rank second in the East North Central States, third in the Middle Atlantic States, and fourth in the South Atlantic belt, while the Czechoslovaks turn up unexpectedly as fourth among the foreign born in the West South Central division.

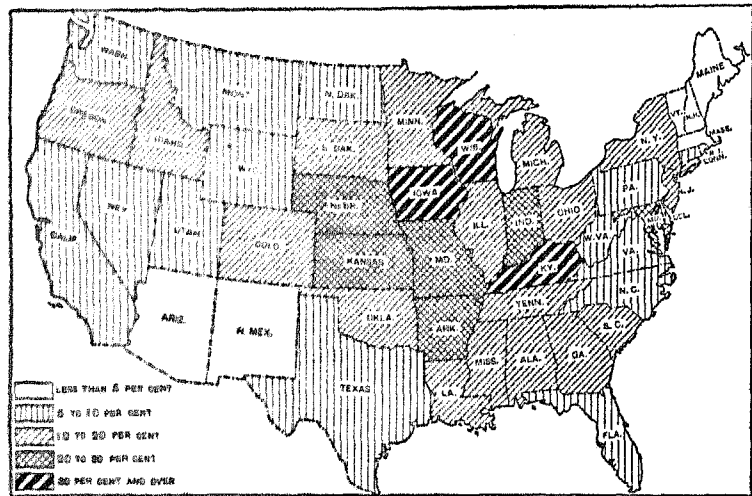
Table 160, giving the percentage of each nationality among the foreign born of each State, is equally disconcerting. For example, the Italians, as seen in Map 2, achieve their greatest prominence in the heart of the "old South," being 36.2 per cent of the foreign white population of Louisiana, and 23 per cent of that in Mississippi. Not less surprising is the distribution of the Russian-born foreigners, graphically depicted in Map 3. The three States in which this element is of greatest numerical importance, in the total foreign born, are North Dakota, Georgia, and Maryland.

Likewise Map 6, based on Table 61, shows the Italian or Russian born to be the dominant foreign-born nationality, not only in certain Middle Atlantic and New England States, where they would be expected, but also in West Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Colorado, and Nevada.

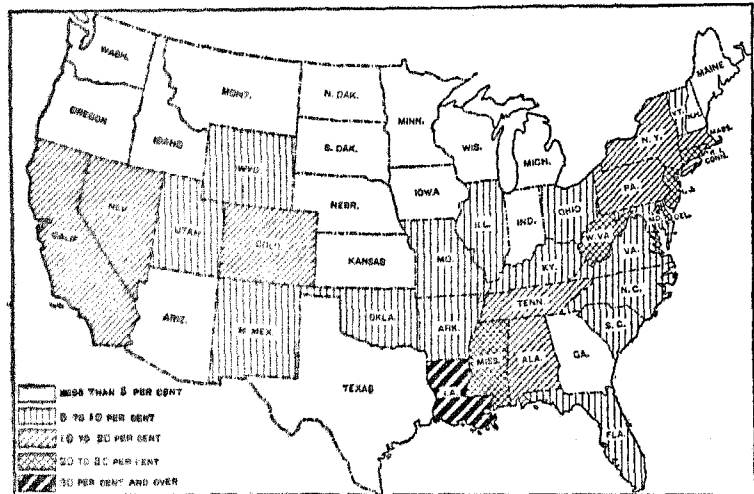
There is, nevertheless, a certain consistency in the territorial distribution of the "new" immigration. It has just been seen that the "old" immigration shows a surprising degree of concentration in the Middle Atlantic belt, more especially in the State of New York. Table 161 exhibits this tendency more clearly in the case of the "new" immigrants to this country. The largest numbers of most of them are in the Middle Atlantic States, and the next largest in the adjoining East North Central States. This generalization applies to the Poles, Austrians, Hungarians, Russians and Lithuanians, Rumanians, and Palestinians. The Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, and Greeks show a nonsignificant variant on this type of distribution, the largest numbers of each being settled in the East North Central division, and the next largest in the Middle Atlantic region.

The remaining central, south, and east Europeans and the Asiatics are more scattered, though certain of them—such as the Portuguese, Syrians, Italians, and natives of Turkey in Asia—show New England to be either their first or second point of maximum concentration. Thus, most of the "new" immigrant nationality groups have the largest percentage of their numbers settled in the Middle Atlantic, East North Central, or New England divisions. There is only one relatively unimportant exception. The majority of the Finnish born are located in the Middle West, 31.1 per cent being in the East North Central division, and 21.1 per cent in the West North Central.

MAP 1.—PER CENT OF GERMAN BORN IN FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, BY STATES: 1920

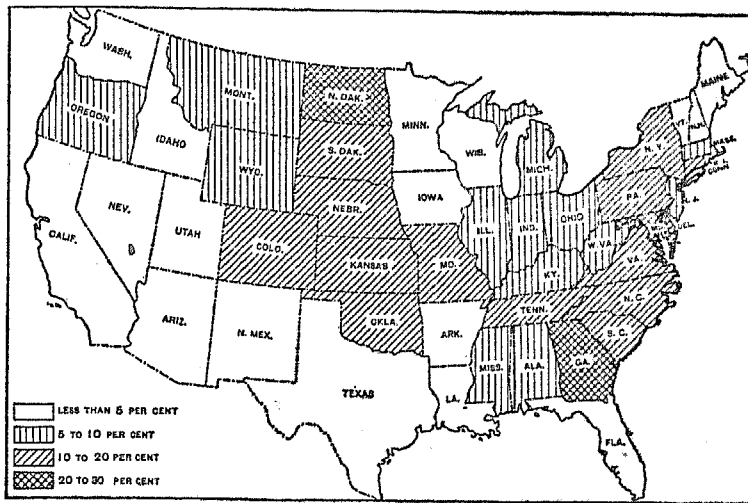


MAP 2.—PER CENT OF ITALIAN BORN IN FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, BY STATES: 1920

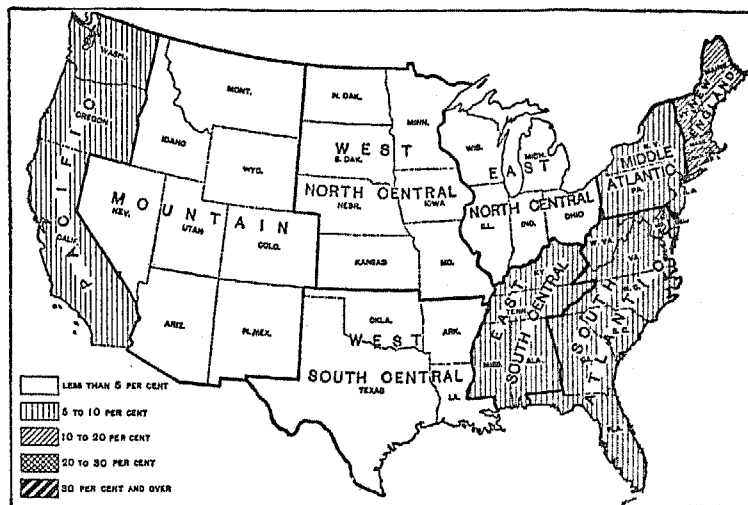


It should be noted that this generalization applies to the per cent distribution for each nationality taken as a unit. As has been seen from the analysis of Tables 60 and 61, and of Tables 160 and 161, together with the maps associated with them, when each State and geographic division is taken as a unit, the "new" immigration reveals a wide and unexpected dispersion.

MAP 3.—PER CENT OF RUSSIAN BORN IN FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, BY STATES: 1920

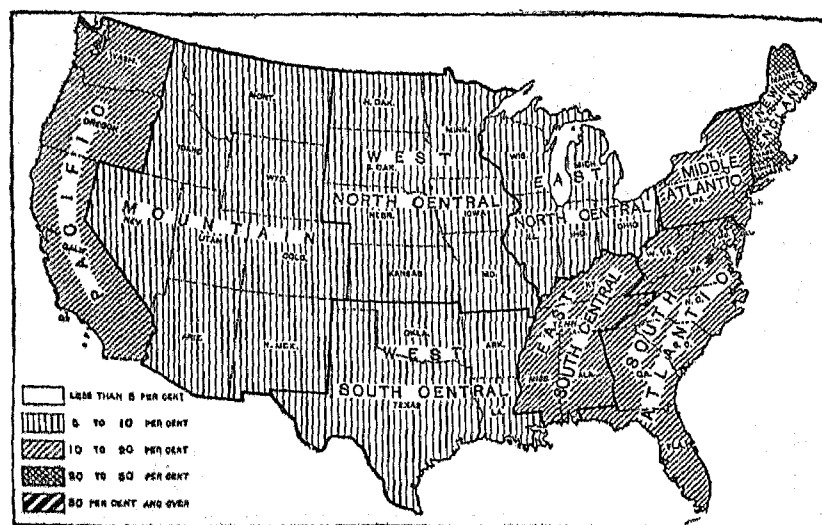


MAP 4.—PER CENT OF IRISH BORN IN FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

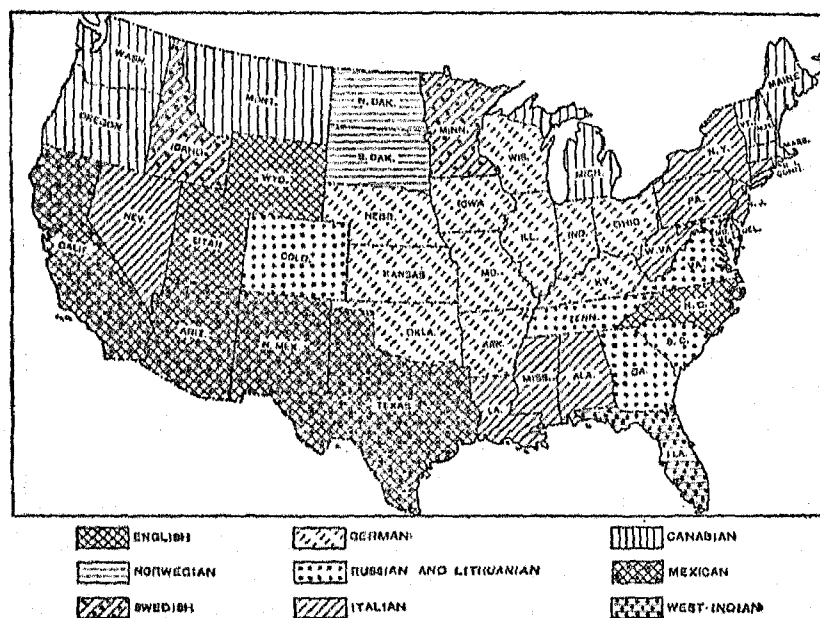


The deductions already made concerning the distribution of the North and South American immigrants to the United States are borne out by the material presented by this group of tables and maps. In general, the Canadian born, both French Canadian and "other" Canadian, are concentrated along the northern border of the United States, while the Mexican born are most heavily settled along the southwestern border. That is, the Mexicans and Canadians have

MAP 5.—PER CENT OF IRISH PARENTAGE IN NATIVE BORN OF MIXED AND FOREIGN PARENTAGE, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

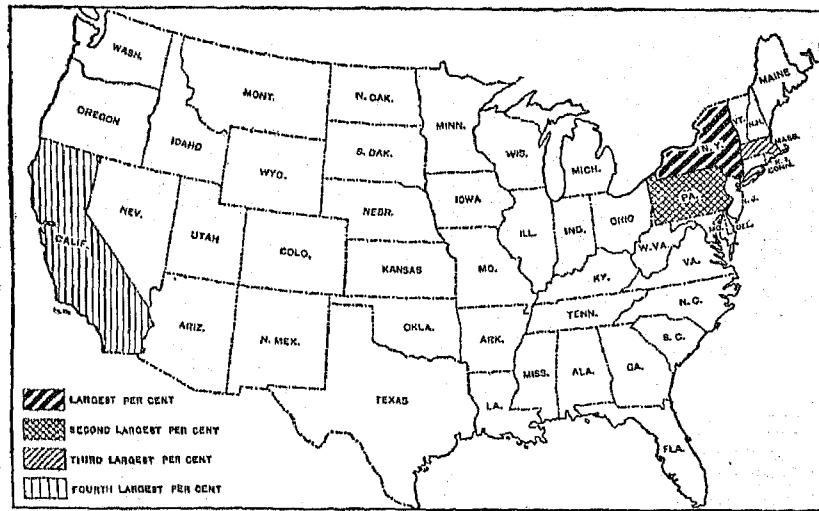


MAP 6.—PREDOMINANT NATIONALITY AMONG THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF EACH STATE: 1920

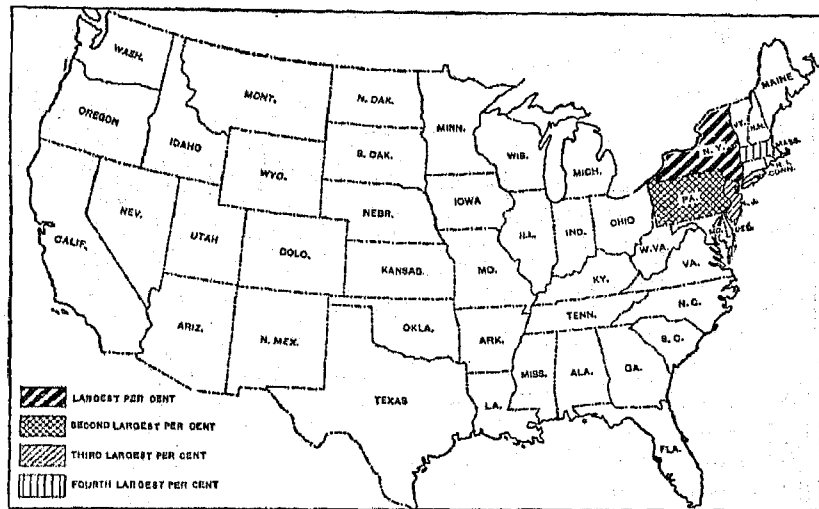


simply moved across the boundary lines separating their countries from the United States. Maps 6, 13, 14, and 15 throw into high relief these population movements. According to Map 6, the Ca-

MAP 9.—FOUR STATES IN WHICH LARGEST PERCENTAGE OF ENGLISH BORN ARE RESIDENT: 1920



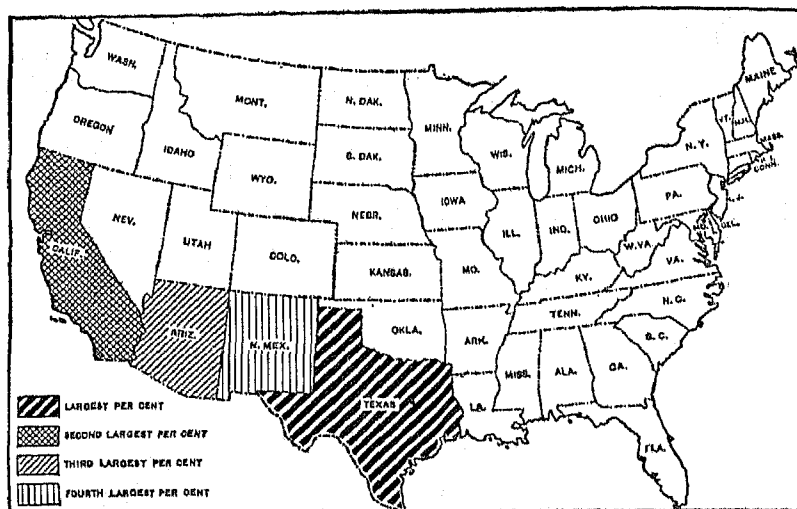
MAP 10.—FOUR STATES IN WHICH LARGEST PERCENTAGE OF ITALIAN BORN ARE RESIDENT: 1920



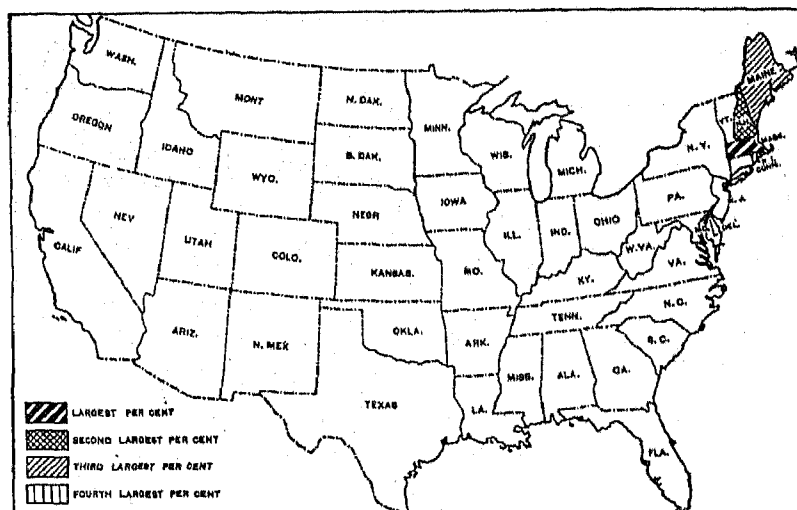
New Mexico, and 77.2 per cent in Arizona. In California, however, this element of the population leads the Italians by a very small margin. Again, according to Map 13, it is this same group of four States in which the greatest number of Mexicans are settled.

Maps 14 and 15 likewise place the heaviest percentage of Canadians in the northern border region, the French Canadians being grouped in a solid block in New England, directly across the border from French

MAP 13.—FOUR STATES IN WHICH LARGEST PERCENTAGE OF MEXICAN BORN ARE RESIDENT: 1920



MAP 14.—FOUR STATES IN WHICH LARGEST PERCENTAGE OF FRENCH-CANADIAN BORN ARE RESIDENT: 1920



The graphic record that these maps provide of these Mexican and Canadian invasions calls attention to a statement made earlier in this monograph, namely, that these two ethnic groups derive their significance, not so much from their absolute numbers as from *their concentration and almost continuous contact with their parent populations*. There are regions along the Mexican and New England borders

[illegible]

It would be profitable to pursue this phase of the inquiry into the mother tongue of the immigrants in the various parts of the country. Considerations of space, however, render such an undertaking impracticable. There is opportunity only to consider the relative position of English and Celtic mother tongues among the foreign born in the various parts of the United States. It may readily be seen that a large percentage of English and Celtic in any region bespeaks a small percentage of non-English-speaking foreign born in that region, and vice versa. Furthermore, it should be remembered that—from the viewpoint of “Americanization” activities—it is the non-English-speaking foreign born who offer the most obvious problem, since they can not become effectively acquainted with the customs and ideals of the United States until they speak the language of the country.

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TABLE 63.—REGIONS AND COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, ACCORDING TO PER CENT OF URBANIZATION: 1920

Rank	REGION OR COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Per cent urban	Rank	REGION OR COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Per cent urban	Rank	REGION OR COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Per cent urban
1	Asia.....	85.7	12	Greece.....	87.5	32	Bulgaria.....	76.2
2	Eastern Europe.....	85.7	13	Syria.....	87.3	33	Austria.....	75.0
3	Southern Europe.....	84.1	14	Ireland.....	86.9	34	Pacific Islands.....	74.7
4	Central Europe.....	78.2	15	South America.....	85.7	35	France.....	74.4
5	"All other".....	70.6	16	"Other Asia".....	85.4	36	Spain.....	73.3
6	Northwestern Europe.....	70.3	17	Poland.....	84.4	37	Canada—"Other".....	72.4
7	America.....	67.1	18	Italy.....	84.4	38	Wales.....	71.1
			19	Africa.....	82.8	39	Yugoslavia.....	69.3
			20	Armenia.....	82.7	40	Germany.....	67.5
1	Cuba.....	93.8	21	Hungary.....	80.0	41	Belgium.....	66.6
2	Albania.....	91.9	22	Canada—French.....	79.2	42	Czechoslovakia.....	66.3
3	Turkey in Europe.....	91.3	23	Australia.....	78.5	43	Sweden.....	65.1
4	Palestine.....	91.0	24	Atlantic Islands.....	78.3	44	Luxemburg.....	65.3
5	Newfoundland.....	90.9	25	Scotland.....	76.8	45	Switzerland.....	67.1
6	Rumania.....	90.9	26	"Other Europe".....	76.6	46	Netherlands.....	66.5
7	Central America.....	90.7	27	India.....	76.5	47	Denmark.....	63.4
8	Turkey in Asia.....	89.4	28	England.....	76.3	48	Finland.....	63.4
9	"Other West Indies".....	89.1	29	Japan.....	75.9	49	Mexico.....	47.4
10	Russia.....	88.6	30	China.....	75.8	50	Norway.....	47.2
11	Lithuania.....	87.8	31	Portugal.....	75.4			

¹ Africa, Australia, Atlantic Islands, Pacific Islands, country not specified, and born at sea.

TABLE 64.—DIFFERENCES IN PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN WHITE AND URBAN FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, BY REGION OR COUNTRY OF BIRTH, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

REGION OR COUNTRY OF BIRTH	DIFFERENCE IN PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, TOTAL AND URBAN FOREIGN-BORN WHITE ¹		REGION OR COUNTRY OF BIRTH	DIFFERENCE IN PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, TOTAL AND URBAN FOREIGN-BORN WHITE ¹	
	Urban greater by—	Urban less by—		Urban greater by—	Urban less by—
Northwestern Europe.....		2.8	Central Europe:		
Central Europe.....	0.7		Poland.....	1.0	0.3
Eastern Europe.....	1.7		Czechoslovakia.....		
Southern Europe.....	1.6		Hungary.....	0.2	0.1
Asia.....	0.1		Yugoslavia.....		
America.....		1.4	Eastern Europe:		
Northwestern Europe:			Russia.....	1.8	
England.....	0.1		Lithuania.....	0.1	0.3
Ireland.....	1.1		Finland.....		
Norway.....		1.0	Rumania.....	0.2	
Sweden.....		0.8	Southern Europe:		
Denmark.....		0.4	Greece.....	0.2	
Netherlands.....		0.3	Italy.....	1.4	0.1
Belgium.....		0.1	Spain.....		
Switzerland.....		0.2	America:		
France.....	0.1		Canada—French.....	0.2	0.2
Germany.....		1.3	Canada—Other.....		
			Mexico.....		1.3

¹ Countries having a variation of less than one-tenth of 1 per cent are omitted.

Reference to the statistics for the 25 principal cities of the country in Table 62 and Table 169 leads to similar results. Three out of five of the leading foreign-born groups are of the "new" immigration, and they are the same three. The corresponding mother tongues, that is Yiddish and Hebrew, Italian, and Polish, likewise are among the five principal groups of the foreign born in these cities, though they are slightly lower in rank.

It would naturally be expected that, if the foreign born in the cities are dominated by the "new" immigrants, those in the rural areas would be dominated by the "old." This is not, however, altogether the case. Inspection of Table 62 indicates that, while the "new" immigrants are represented by only one nationality—the Italians—among the first five of the rural foreign-born groups, the "old" immigrants do not fare much better, having only two nationalities in this category, to wit, the Germans and Swedes. The other two out of the five most prominent rural foreign-born national elements are the Mexicans and Canadians.

In general, however, the "old" immigrants do outrank the "new" in rural localities. Thus, in Table 63, of the 26 least urbanized foreign-born national groups, 12 are seen to be north and west Europeans, while only 8 are recruited from other portions of Europe, the rest being from America and Asia. And, of the 5 least urbanized—and, by the same token, most "ruralized"—nationalities in this table, 3, that is, the Norwegian, Danish, and Dutch, are from north and west Europe, the other 2 being the Finnish and Mexican born.

Again, Table 64 shows that, of the five nationalities which are least prominent in urban areas as compared with the country at large, four are north and west European and one, the Mexican, is American.

Thus far, the evidence seems overwhelmingly in favor of the current opinion which holds that the "old" immigrant stocks have a predilection for rural life, and that the "new" central, south, and east Europeans tend to crowd in the cities. Further analysis, however, indicates that these phenomena do not admit of so simple an interpretation.

In the first place, there is evidence that the "old" immigration has in the past sought the cities in large numbers. Table 170, for example, shows the northwestern European nationalities to predominate among the foreign born of the 25 largest cities of this country right up to 1900, and Table 39 brings out the fact that the "old" immigration dominated among the total foreign born also up to 1900. The two tables suggest, therefore, that the "old" immigration took first place in the cities as long as it led in the country at large, and that the "new" immigration began to be conspicuous in the cities *only when it began to be equally conspicuous in the country at large.*

Tables 65, 66, 171, and 172 show, moreover, that, among the second generation, the "old" immigration still occupies first and second place in all urban areas, as well as in the 25 principal cities. Taken in connection with Table 48, these tables lead to a conclusion similar to that just reached above, namely, that there is a general correspondence between the relative position taken by these nationalities in the cities and in the country as a whole.

TABLE 65.—NUMBER AND PER CENT OF NATIVE WHITE POPULATION OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE, BY BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS, IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF PARENTS	NATIVE WHITE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE: 1920				
	Number			Per cent	
	Total	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Total.....	22, 086, 204	15, 706, 372	6, 070, 832	69. 2	30. 8
Northwestern Europe:					
England.....	1, 483, 024	992, 605	490, 419	66. 0	33. 1
Scotland.....	421, 147	289, 283	131, 864	68. 7	31. 3
Wales.....	163, 418	108, 674	54, 744	66. 5	33. 5
Ireland.....	2, 071, 688	2, 435, 778	535, 910	82. 0	18. 0
Norway.....	661, 174	228, 737	432, 437	34. 6	65. 4
Sweden.....	824, 720	463, 241	361, 485	56. 2	43. 8
Denmark.....	276, 020	122, 922	153, 107	44. 5	55. 5
Netherlands.....	228, 089	118, 101	109, 988	51. 8	48. 2
Belgium.....	50, 452	31, 806	27, 646	63. 5	40. 5
Luxemburg.....	30, 272	14, 184	16, 088	46. 9	53. 1
Switzerland.....	210, 527	105, 909	104, 618	50. 3	49. 7
France.....	208, 951	142, 320	66, 635	68. 1	31. 9
Germany.....	5, 344, 128	3, 363, 743	1, 980, 385	62. 9	37. 1
Central and eastern Europe:					
Austria.....	1, 084, 057	1, 189, 521	495, 136	70. 6	29. 4
Hungary.....	612, 735	358, 079	154, 656	69. 8	30. 2
Russia.....	1, 850, 403	1, 533, 755	316, 708	82. 9	17. 1
Finland.....	145, 606	61, 080	84, 417	42. 0	58. 0
Rumania.....	49, 063	45, 862	3, 201	93. 5	6. 5
Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro.....	11, 022	7, 398	3, 624	67. 1	32. 9
Turkey in Europe.....	4, 301	4, 131	230	94. 7	5. 3
Southern Europe:					
Greece.....	45, 556	41, 327	4, 229	90. 7	9. 3
Italy.....	1, 721, 761	1, 454, 416	267, 345	84. 5	15. 5
Spain.....	25, 261	18, 277	6, 984	72. 4	27. 6
Portugal.....	66, 846	45, 503	21, 343	68. 1	31. 9
Europe, not specified.....	7, 656	5, 200	2, 456	68. 0	32. 0
Asia:					
Turkey in Asia.....	63, 637	52, 728	10, 909	82. 0	17. 1
All other countries.....	5, 596	4, 058	1, 538	72. 5	27. 5
America:					
Canada—French.....	545, 634	411, 349	134, 285	75. 4	24. 6
Canada—Other.....	1, 190, 744	772, 167	424, 577	64. 5	35. 5
Newfoundland.....	13, 128	11, 872	1, 256	90. 4	9. 6
West Indies ¹	23, 587	21, 068	2, 519	89. 3	10. 7
Mexico.....	252, 045	100, 685	151, 360	39. 9	60. 1
Central and South America.....	7, 705	5, 833	1, 872	75. 7	24. 3
All other.....	68, 159	47, 054	21, 105	69. 0	31. 0
Of mixed foreign parentage.....	1, 502, 457	1, 097, 685	404, 772	73. 1	26. 9

¹ Except possessions of the United States.

When it is recalled, furthermore, that in a previous section of this monograph the fact was established that a far higher percentage of foreign born was to be found in the cities of this country 40 or 50 years ago than to-day,⁴⁰ one begins to hesitate before ascribing the existing preponderance of the "new" immigrants in cities solely to some sort of inherent idiosyncrasy toward city life on their part, and to perceive that it probably is due in large measure to the fact that the city serves as a microcosm of the country as a whole, and therefore reflects in its own population the rising tide of "new" immigrants in the United States.

In this connection mention may be made of a subsidiary but significant feature of these tables. This is the apparent paradox

⁴⁰ Cf. *supra*, Ch. III, Tables 17, 18, and 19

to only 4.1 per cent of the foreign born in San Francisco. Likewise the Italians, another highly urbanized nationality, who are 19.6 per cent of the foreign born in New York City, 23.5 per cent in Newark, and 29.4 per cent in New Orleans, are a bare 3.7 per cent in Milwaukee, and less than 1 per cent in Minneapolis. An explanation for this paradoxical situation is suggested by the discussion of the distribution of the foreign born by States and geographic divisions that has just been concluded. The Norwegians are prominent in Minnesota and Washington; *ergo*, they are prominent in Minneapolis, which is situated in Minnesota, and in Seattle, which is in Washington.⁴² The Mexicans comprise the largest foreign element in California and the largest in Los Angeles. The Italians are, likewise, the most numerous nationality among the foreign born of Louisiana, New Jersey, and New York, and they rank first in the cities of New Orleans, La., and Newark, N. J., and second in New York City. Conversely, they are 1.5 per cent of the foreign population of Minnesota and 0.9 per cent of the foreign born in Minneapolis, Minn. In short, the foreign born of any nationality are prominent in cities situated in those regions where they are prominent and are submerged in cities situated in those regions where they are submerged. Be it noted, this statement applies to *all* types of immigrants, to Canadians,⁴³ Mexicans, and typical "old" immigrant nationalities, as well as to the "new" immigrants. It is, of course, true that the central, south, and east Europeans are found more frequently in the vicinity of urban centers, and, hence, *in* those urban centers, than the north and west Europeans. But it is also true that the latter have occasionally been found in large numbers in proximity to urbanized places, and have been correspondingly prominent in them.

Certainly this type of evidence leaves no grounds for imputing an excess in urbanizing tendencies to one group as distinguished from the other. It is still necessary to account for the greater tendency of the one to be found near large cities than the other, but, as is shown below, this can be explained largely without reference to the idiosyncrasies of any race or group of races.

Clearly, there is at least room for doubt as to the existence of any uniform affinity for city life among the "new" immigrants, or for country life among the "old." It seems at least probable that there are more far-reaching and obscure factors at work than the simple cause-and-effect relationship to which the data seem at first glance to point.

⁴² Cf. Tables 160 and 168. The percentages are almost identical. The Norwegians are 18.6 per cent of the foreign population in Minneapolis and 18.6 per cent in Minnesota. They are 12.3 per cent in Seattle and 12.1 per cent in the State of Washington.

⁴³ E. g., their prominence in Boston. Cf. Table 170.

TABLE 67.—FIVE LEADING COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION AND OF NATIVE WHITE OF FOREIGN STOCK, AND 5 LEADING MOTHER TONGUES OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, IN 10 PRINCIPAL CITIES: 1920

CITY	Rank	FIRST 5 COUNTRIES OF BIRTH—		First 5 mother tongues—foreign-born white
		Foreign-born white ¹	Foreign parents of native-born white of foreign or mixed parentage	
New York.....	1	Russia and Lithuania	Russia	Yiddish and Hebrew
	2	Italy	Italy	Italian
	3	Ireland	Ireland	English and Celtic
	4	Germany	Germany	German
	5	Poland	Austria	Russian
Chicago.....	1	Poland	Germany	German
	2	Russia and Lithuania	Austria	Polish
	3	Germany	Russia	English and Celtic
	4	Italy	Ireland	Yiddish and Hebrew
	5	Sweden	Italy	Italian
Philadelphia.....	1	Russia and Lithuania	Ireland	English and Celtic
	2	Ireland	Germany	Yiddish and Hebrew
	3	Italy	Russia	Italian
	4	Germany	Italy	German
	5	Poland	England	Polish
Detroit.....	1	Canada	Germany	English and Celtic
	2	Poland	Canada	Polish
	3	Germany	Russia	German
	4	Russia and Lithuania	Austria	Yiddish and Hebrew
	5	England	Ireland	Italian
Cleveland.....	1	Poland	Germany	German
	2	Hungary	Austria	English and Celtic
	3	Germany	Russia	Polish
	4	Russia and Lithuania	Hungary	Magyar
	5	Czechoslovakia	Ireland	Italian
St. Louis.....	1	Germany	Germany	German
	2	Russia and Lithuania	Ireland	English and Celtic
	3	Ireland	Russia	Yiddish and Hebrew
	4	Italy	Austria	Italian
	5	Hungary	England	Polish
Boston.....	1	Ireland	Ireland	English and Celtic
	2	Russia and Lithuania	Canada	Italian
	3	Canada	Italy	Yiddish and Hebrew
	4	Italy	Russia	German
	5	England	England	Swedish
Baltimore.....	1	Russia and Lithuania	Germany	German
	2	Germany	Russia	Yiddish and Hebrew
	3	Poland	Ireland	Polish
	4	Italy	Austria	English and Celtic
	5	Ireland	Italy	Italian
Pittsburgh.....	1	Russia and Lithuania	Germany	English and Celtic
	2	Germany	Ireland	German
	3	Poland	Austria	Italian
	4	Italy	Russia	Polish
	5	Ireland	Italy	Yiddish and Hebrew
Los Angeles.....	1	Mexico	Germany	English and Celtic
	2	Canada	England	Spanish
	3	England	Ireland	German
	4	Germany	Canada	Italian
	5	Russia and Lithuania	Mexico	Yiddish and Hebrew

¹ Based on birthplace of foreign-born white persons (postwar areas). The order of countries would be different if based, as in Ch. IX of Vol. II, Fourteenth Census Reports, on birthplace of father.

The *second* feature of importance in connection with these tables is the peculiar urbanizing disposition of certain groups—not, be it noted, of the “old” or “new” immigrants as a whole, but of certain nationalities and regional groupings within each. Tables 62, 63, and 64 are of most interest in this connection.

The tendencies revealed by these tables are, at first sight, rather confusing. On the one hand, they indicate an unusual urbanization of certain European race and national stocks; on the other, they show a very high degree of urban settlement on the part of immigrants from certain areas irrespective of race or nationality.

The race and nationality groups which appear to have a predilection for city life are the Irish, the Italians, the Russian Hebrews, and Poles. Thus, Table 62 places the Italian, Russian, Polish, and Irish in first, second, fourth, and fifth places, respectively, among the foreign born of urban areas, and second, first, fourth, and fifth in the 25 principal cities. Likewise, the mother tongue classification in the same table shows Yiddish and Hebrew to rank second only to English and Celtic in the 25 principal cities, whereas it takes fourth place among the foreign born of the country as a whole.

According to Table 63, moreover, the Russian and Lithuanian born rank tenth and eleventh when ranged according to the per cent of their number dwelling in cities; the Irish rank fourteenth, and the Poles and Italians seventeenth and eighteenth. Finally, as pointed out above, Table 64 indicates that the Russian, Italian, Irish, and Polish lead all the foreign-born groups, in the order named, in the excess of the percentage which they compose of the urban foreign born over that which they constitute of the foreign born of the country at large. That is, these four groups are not only conspicuous in the cities of this country, but are considerably more so than their numerical strength in the total foreign population would warrant.

The evidence is not quite so obvious as to the urbanization of the immigrants from certain geographic areas. Yet it is suggestive. Table 63 brings out the rather startling fact that, among the 15 nationalities most heavily settled in cities, not less than 11 are from countries that are in either the Near East⁴⁴ or the West Indies and Central and South America.⁴⁵

It is difficult to hit upon any causative factors which could account also for this urbanizing tendency of the near Eastern and Central and South Americans and West Indian peoples, in addition to the Italians, Poles, Russian Hebrews, and Irish. Any attempt to account for it on the basis of a racial or national predilection for city life falls at once to the ground. For there is such a wide divergence between, let us say, the Irish and the Russian Hebrews, and the Syrians and the Negro West Indians that such a generalization would have to cover practically every racial stock represented in this country, "old"

⁴⁴ Albania, Turkey in Europe, Palestine, Turkey in Asia, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, and Syria.

⁴⁵ The separate percentages achieved by these countries, in the foreign population of the country at large, and of the urban areas, are so small as to make Table 64 of little significance in this connection.

As just indicated, however, the Hebrews seem to have a definite tendency toward urban life. It is true also that they are largely recent immigrants. Nevertheless, they seem to display an especial dislike for rural life, and a corresponding fondness for the city. Thus, Table 68 shows the Yiddish and Hebrew mother tongue group to be fourth in the total foreign-born population, and fourth in its urban foreign population, but only tenth in the rural foreign population, while Table 62 indicates that, among the foreign born of the largest cities of the country, this same group appears in second place, outdistancing the German and Italian elements, which far outnumber them in the country at large, being led, indeed, only by the English and Celtic element. Moreover, the same table places the Russian born in first place among the foreigners of the 25 principal cities, whereas they are only third in the country at large. Together with the evidence of Tables 63 and 64, these figures would suggest such an unusual cityward trend as to warrant the conclusion that it must, to a considerable extent, betoken a racial peculiarity. In this connection it may be remembered that in Europe the Hebrews are mainly city dwellers.⁵⁰

TABLE 68.—TEN PRINCIPAL MOTHER TONGUES OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION FOR THE UNITED STATES, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO URBAN AND RURAL AREAS: 1920

MOTHER TONGUE	TOTAL		URBAN		RURAL	
	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number
All mother tongues.....		13, 712, 754		10, 356, 983		3, 355, 771
Total, 10 principal mother tongues.....		11, 489, 788		8, 782, 888		2, 706, 900
English and Celtic.....	1	3, 007, 982	1	2, 375, 400	2	632, 582
German.....	2	2, 267, 128	2	1, 503, 339	1	763, 789
Italian.....	3	1, 624, 908	3	1, 307, 339	4	257, 059
Yiddish and Hebrew.....	4	1, 001, 820	4	1, 068, 770	10	23, 050
Polish.....	5	1, 077, 392	5	899, 520	7	177, 863
Swedish.....	6	643, 203	6	405, 526	5	237, 677
Spanish.....	7	556, 111	9	290, 115	3	265, 996
French.....	8	466, 056	7	301, 313	8	105, 043
Russian ¹	9	382, 040	8	341, 132	9	50, 917
Norwegian.....	10	362, 190	10	170, 425	6	191, 774

¹ Probably includes a considerable proportion of Hebrews erroneously reported as of Russian mother tongue.

As for the Italians, the evidence permits no definite conclusion. It may be noted, however, that Table 62 shows them to be by no means absent in rural areas. Further, their relatively heavy settlement in such nonurban States as Louisiana, Mississippi, and West Virginia,⁵¹ and their success in agriculture—which is moderate in this

⁵⁰ Especially in Russia, where, until recently, they were confined principally within the "Pale," and debarred from agricultural pursuits. Cf. Ripley: *The Races of Europe*, New York, 1899, pp. 373-375.

⁵¹ Cf. Maps 2 and 6.

the French Canadians show an opposite tendency. Thus the Canadian and Mexican born, more especially the latter, are distinctly rural rather than urban in distribution. There is, however, some tendency toward urbanization on the part of the French Canadians.

The cause for this phenomenon is not far to seek. Map 13 demonstrates the Mexicans to be most heavily settled in rural States, and Map 15 shows that three of the four States in which the "other" Canadians are most numerous—namely, New York, Michigan, and California—are partially rural, though they contain large cities. On the other hand, Map 14 places a heavy percentage of the French Canadians in two highly urbanized States, to wit, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, although the other two States most densely occupied by French Canadians are Maine and New Hampshire, which are partly rural. In other words, one of the principles elucidated above is at work here: The Mexicans and Canadians are largely settled in rural communities, because the regions occupied by them are chiefly rural. The slight tendency toward urbanization on the part of the French Canadians seems due, partly, to the fact that a portion of them are settled in urbanized centers. In this case, however, there may be also some tendency toward urban life, or at least, industrial life.⁵³

The *third* principal topic in this section may now be taken up. It is a summary, based on what has just preceded, as well as on other portions of the monograph, of the forces that are at work in the territorial distribution of immigration.

Before this can be done, however, it is necessary to call attention to one factor, which has been suggested in the foregoing discussion but which has not been explicitly set forth. This is the principle of *ethnic cohesion*. It can be best understood after reference to the maps accompanying this chapter.

These maps reveal a clear-cut tendency on the part of certain national groups to dwell in contiguous territories, or, in other words, to migrate in more or less cohesive ethnic bodies. The most striking examples of this tendency have been already noted. They are the solidly massed Mexicans in the Southwest, the Canadians in the North and especially in the Northeast, the Scandinavians in the Northwest, and the Germans in the northern Mississippi Valley. But this is not all. Maps 1 and 6 give evidence of an unexpected overflow of Germans into Kentucky and the West South Central

⁵³ The natives of Newfoundland offer a peculiar problem. Table 63 suggests that they are highly urbanized, though Table 64 does not bear this out. As stated above, this population class reaches the United States principally by boat, through the New England ports, and it is likely that Boston and adjacent cities act as "way stations" for them. In this connection, attention may once more be directed to the large Canadian population in Boston.

States, in direct contact with the East and West North Central States, where they are most heavily settled. Further, as mentioned above, the Russian born are seen from Maps 3 and 6 to be prominent in the South Atlantic and East South Central States—a phenomenon that seems largely inexplicable until one sees from Map 11 that this area is contiguous to the center of heaviest Russian settlement, the Middle Atlantic belt, and a secondary center of settlement in Illinois. Again, the Italians are not only prominent in the Middle Atlantic area, as found in Map 10, but are also shown in Maps 2 and 6 to occupy with some density a wide V-shaped belt, extending continuously from the Middle Atlantic States to Louisiana, and thence upward through Oklahoma, Colorado, and Utah, into Nevada and California.

The Irish in the country are plainly seen, from Map 4, to be most heavily settled in two solid strips, along the country's two seaboards.⁵⁴

It is regrettable that the limits of this monograph and the nature of the material do not permit a detailed analysis of all the racial and national elements. Tables 160 and 161 show pretty plainly that most of them, as well as these major ethnic groups, exhibit similar tendencies. For example, the numerically unimportant Czechoslovaks present a perfect illustration of the characteristics here being discussed. Their region of heaviest concentration is a block of four contiguous States: New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois,⁵⁵ while they constitute a significant proportion of the foreign born in a continuous belt running from these States south into Texas.⁵⁶

It must not be inferred from the foregoing that this principle of ethnic cohesion is to be taken as the only or even as the leading decisive factor in the territorial distribution of the foreign born. Other factors have been noted in the pages just preceding; and at the end of Chapter IV it was pointed out that a wide variety of causes has probably been at work in the dispersion over the United States of its foreign stock, whether "old" or "new." Nevertheless, the tendency just analyzed is so striking and so far-reaching as to command attention. It must certainly be accepted as one of the more important causative agencies operating to make the various ethnic stocks and nationalities among the foreign stock seek the locations where they now reside.

⁵⁴ Maps 4 and 5 are based on geographic divisions and not States, and therefore somewhat exaggerate the tendency to territorial contiguity.

⁵⁵ Cf. Table 161. Of the total Czechoslovakian population, New York has 10.6 per cent; Pennsylvania, 19 per cent; Ohio, 11.6 per cent; and Illinois, 18.4 per cent.

⁵⁶ Cf. Table 160. Per cent of total foreign-born white: Indiana, 2.6; Illinois, 5.5; Wisconsin, 4.3; Iowa, 4.1; Nebraska, 10.6; Oklahoma, 4.6; and Texas, 3.6. It should be noted, further, that there is a westward "wave-like" movement here, there being an increase in the relative importance to Nebraska, and a diminution south toward Texas.

Only brief reference need be made to the three subsidiary factors operative in the distribution of American immigration. Climatic factors have played a certain part—how important a one it is impossible to say. It should be remembered that climatic variations in this country are not extensive, the greater portion of its territory being well within the Temperate Zone; so that there is not the opportunity for ethnic differentiation on the basis of climate that there is, for example, in South America. Probably the relatively large settlement of Italians in the lower Mississippi Valley and California is based partially on the similarity of climate between those regions and the Italian peninsula. The failure of the Mexican population to travel far north of the border States may also arise from their preference for a climate essentially like their own. The northern settlement of the Scandinavians might be due in part to the fact that they come from the northernmost part of Europe.

Ethnic idiosyncrasy has been seen to affect the urban settlement of two groups—the Irish and Hebrew. It may have had a more widespread, but less easily identified influence, in this and other forms of distribution than this study has established. As it is, the relatively minor significance of race in the immigrant's territorial distribution is one of the most striking facts brought out by this study. The alleged preference of the "new" immigrant for urban life has often been mentioned in this monograph. But very little finally conclusive evidence has been found to establish such a tendency. The "new" immigrant has been found to be neither so universally, nor so distinctively an urban dweller as is often supposed and, where he has been urbanized, other than racial factors have generally been seen to be at work. The alleged inherent urbanizing tendencies of the central, south, and east Europeans can not, for the present, at least, be accepted as scientifically established.

Finally, the relationship between the percentage of various ethnic groups in urban populations, and in the population in general, particularly the population immediately surrounding a particular city, needs little discussion beyond that which it has already received. As the first stopping places of many immigrants, the cities come automatically to reflect the ethnic make-up of the foreign-born population as a whole. Consequently, those racial and national elements, whether of the "old" or "new" immigration, that bulk most heavily in the country's foreign population, also loom largest in the cities. More than this, the cities of a particular region react to the ethnic make-up of the surrounding country, "new" immigrants being prominent in cities situated in regions where they are numerically important; "old" immigrants displacing them in cities near regions

where the "old" immigrants predominate; the otherwise nonurbanized Mexicans shouldering both "new" and "old" aside in those cities situated in their own peculiar centers of settlement. As pointed out in Chapter IV, moreover, it happens that most of the large cities of this country are in regions where the recent immigrants are most thickly settled.

In sum, something like the following seems to express the course followed by the generality of immigrants, whether considered as a unit or as separate ethnic groups: They have accumulated near the large seaport cities of New England, of the Middle Atlantic States, and, to a lesser extent, of the Pacific coast. They have slowly spread out over the country wherever transportation was available and economic opportunity beckoned. A generation or two ago, such opportunity led them mainly, but not universally, to the Middle West and far West; to-day it leads them chiefly to the industrial East, Northeast, and East North Central regions. Usually they have clustered around points of ethnic or national concentration. Some few of them show a liking for certain climates; others for urban as opposed to rural life. But most of them seem, shortly after their arrival, to move into cities, there to wait until opportunity opens elsewhere and, ultimately, to establish themselves in the city or in the country, according as other factors place them adjacent to or remote from city life. Finally, the immigrant is one with the other inhabitants of the Nation in responding to certain country-wide population trends. Fifty years ago he joined the great stream of westward-moving settlers into the prairie lands of the trans-Mississippi region. To-day, he feels the pull of that cityward tide which this country's industrial expansion has set in motion.⁶¹

⁶¹ For evidence of a similar trend within the population of the British Isles, cf. Ravenstein: *Statistical Journal*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 184-187 (London, 1885).

VI

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE FOREIGN STOCK

The age and sex composition of the foreign element in the United States is of peculiar importance to the student of American population problems. Not only does its analysis throw light on many points relative to the immigrant stock itself, but it also contributes to a better understanding of the character of the entire white population of the country, for there are certain peculiarities in the distribution of age and sex classes among both the foreign born and their children which profoundly affect the white population as a whole.

The material available for this portion of the study is of two sorts: First, that relating to the foreign stock as a whole; second, that relating to certain ethnic groups of the foreign born. The latter is far from complete, being based only on a special tabulation of a limited number of nationality and mother-tongue groups in selected areas. It covers, however, a total of 3,706,190 foreign-born persons, and so is probably adequately representative of the particular racial elements involved in the tabulation. Nevertheless, the conclusions based on this second class of material can not be given as great weight as if they covered the entire foreign-born population, since there is, inevitably, a certain margin of error in any computation based on "sampling," such as this is. Furthermore, it was possible only to tabulate ages in quinquennial groups, producing a variation of one year in the period adopted for males, as the age of maximum fecundity, between this set of tables and those relating to the whole population. It should be noted, moreover, that age statistics are peculiarly subject to error, for a variety of reasons.¹ In this study, however, no effort can be made to go behind the data as they appear in the census reports.

1. AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE FOREIGN STOCK AS A WHOLE

As in other parts of this monograph the analysis at this place may most conveniently be undertaken from two standpoints—the age and sex composition of the foreign stock throughout the country and the variation in the sex ratio and age distribution within it that may be noted in the several regions of the United States and in different kinds of communities. Under each of these two headings, three topics form the basis of discussion—the ratio of males to females;

¹ Cf. Twelfth Census of the United States, *Supplementary Analysis and Derivative Tables*, Washington, 1906, pp. 134-144; Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. III, pp. 145, 146.

age; and the interrelation between age and the sex ratio, especially around the age of maximum fecundity.

The most widely significant conclusions to be reached in this portion of the monograph are derived from the *first* of these two sets of data, namely, the age and sex composition of the foreign stock in the country at large. The material to be analyzed is contained in Tables 69, 70, 71, 72, and 73, and Chart 6.

The most noteworthy aspect of the sex ratio of the foreign-born population is the marked excess shown by the males over the females. Table 69 indicates that, in the foreign-born white population, there are 1,217 males for every 1,000 females. While it is true that, as a rule, all populations show some preponderance of males over females,² such an excess generally amounts only to 1 or 2 in 100. The disproportion between males and females existing in the foreign-born population of this country is, therefore, quite exceptional. Its causation is bound up with the age distribution of this population class, and may most suitably be taken up later in this discussion.

The influence upon the white population as a whole of this unusual predominance of males among the immigrant groups also is brought out by Table 69. Whereas, among the native whites of native parentage there are 1,030 males per 1,000 females, and among the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage only 986 per 1,000 females, the total white population contains 1,044 males per 1,000 females. That is, the white population as a whole is materially affected by its inclusion of the exceptionally unbalanced foreign-born white group.

It is of interest to note further, that the population of Europe, from which the bulk of this country's immigration is drawn, also shows the effects of this phenomenon. So great has been the excess of males among the European immigrants to this and other countries, that the population remaining in Europe contains an excess of females, being unique in this respect among the populations of the world.³

The sex ratio of the foreign-born population of this country is not, however, any more peculiar than its age distribution, nor is it of any greater moment to the white population in general. The extraordinary age structure of the foreign element in this country is graphically depicted in Chart 6. The diagram for the foreign-born white is obviously different in appearance from all the others, being "bulged" at the center, whereas the others are more or less regularly pyramidal in shape. Moreover, the diagrams for the native white of foreign and of mixed parentage differ markedly from that for the native white of native parentage, being much heavier at the base than is the latter.

² Cf. Twelfth Census of the United States, Supplementary Analysis and Derivative Tables, pp. 88, 89.

³ This was the case, even before the decimation of males in Europe accompanying the World War. Cf. Twelfth Census of the United States, Supplementary Analysis and Derivative Tables, *loc. cit.*

TABLE 69.—AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION AND RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES, FOR WHITE POPULATION, BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

AGE GROUP	WHITE POPULATION: 1920						Males to 100 females
	Total		Male		Female		
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
All ages.....	94,820,015	100.0	48,430,655	100.0	46,390,260	100.0	104.4
Under 5 years.....	10,373,021	10.9	5,260,714	10.9	5,113,207	11.0	102.0
5 to 9 years.....	10,087,245	10.6	5,099,205	10.5	4,988,040	10.8	102.2
10 to 14 years.....	9,389,322	9.9	4,735,150	9.8	4,654,172	10.0	102.2
15 to 19 years.....	8,314,155	8.8	4,141,831	8.6	4,172,324	9.0	99.3
20 to 24 years.....	8,185,341	8.6	4,018,570	8.3	4,166,765	9.0	96.4
25 to 29 years.....	8,141,690	8.6	4,094,301	8.5	4,047,389	8.7	101.2
30 to 34 years.....	7,338,790	7.7	3,770,260	7.8	3,568,524	7.7	106.0
35 to 39 years.....	6,905,805	7.3	3,665,341	7.6	3,240,464	7.1	111.1
40 to 44 years.....	5,755,547	6.1	2,987,412	6.2	2,768,135	6.0	107.9
45 to 49 years.....	5,188,040	5.5	2,779,175	5.7	2,408,865	5.2	115.4
50 to 54 years.....	4,317,266	4.6	2,293,094	4.7	2,023,662	4.4	113.3
55 years and over.....	10,660,130	11.2	5,600,755	11.4	5,059,375	11.1	106.0
Age unknown.....	123,063	0.1	78,325	0.2	45,338	0.1	172.8
Median age.....		25.0		20.1		25.1	

AGE GROUP	NATIVE WHITE OF NATIVE PARENTAGE						Males to 100 females
	Total		Male		Female		
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
All ages.....	58,421,957	100.0	29,630,781	100.0	28,785,176	100.0	103.0
Under 5 years.....	7,360,530	12.6	3,741,194	12.6	3,619,336	12.0	103.2
5 to 9 years.....	6,977,863	11.9	3,534,092	11.9	3,443,771	12.0	102.6
10 to 14 years.....	6,455,709	11.1	3,260,388	11.0	3,195,321	11.1	102.6
15 to 19 years.....	5,699,046	9.6	2,797,477	9.4	2,901,569	9.7	99.9
20 to 24 years.....	5,176,707	8.9	2,546,818	8.6	2,629,889	9.1	96.8
25 to 29 years.....	4,764,802	8.2	2,307,312	8.0	2,457,490	8.3	98.7
30 to 34 years.....	4,096,041	7.0	2,054,671	6.9	2,041,370	7.1	100.7
35 to 39 years.....	3,815,852	6.5	1,902,634	6.6	1,913,218	6.4	105.9
40 to 44 years.....	3,099,330	5.3	1,584,240	5.3	1,515,084	5.3	104.6
45 to 49 years.....	2,753,013	4.7	1,403,247	4.9	1,289,766	4.5	113.5
50 to 54 years.....	2,230,700	3.8	1,186,610	4.0	1,050,081	3.6	113.0
55 years and over.....	5,988,195	10.2	3,070,324	10.4	2,917,871	10.1	105.2
Age unknown.....	92,169	0.2	58,769	0.2	33,410	0.1	175.9
Median age.....		22.7		22.8		22.5	

The precise nature of the variation in the age distribution of these population classes, as well as the causes therefor, are indicated by the tables bearing on the subject. Table 70 sets forth the primary cause of this whole chain of phenomena. It shows, in the first place, that, among the recent immigrants to this country, the males outnumber the females very nearly 2 to 1, and, in the second place, that the overwhelming majority of them are in the late adolescent or adult period of life; in other words, that very few children under 14 or 16 come to this country.

ters are such as to make it difficult—if not altogether impossible—for him to bring wife or daughter with him. The majority of immigrants are consequently single, or have left their wives and daughters in "the old country," planning either to send for them later, or to return to them. That is to say, the bulk of contemporary immigration to this country is made up of young or middle-aged men, unaccompanied and unencumbered by women or children.⁴

TABLE 70.—SEX RATIO AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES: 1910-1919

SEX	Number	Per cent of total	AGE	Number	Per cent of total
Both sexes.....	6,347,380	100.0	All ages.....	6,347,380	100.0
Males.....	4,131,798	65.1	Under 14 years ¹	853,066	13.4
Females.....	2,215,582	34.9	14-44 years ²	5,082,894	80.1
Males per 100 females.....	186.5		45 years and over.....	411,420	6.5

¹ Under 14 for years 1910-1917; under 16 for years 1918 and 1919.

² 14-44 for years 1910-1917; 16-44 for years 1918 and 1919.

The effect of this aspect of present-day immigration upon the foreign population has already been noted. Table 69 shows that the foreign-born white contain an abnormally small percentage of children as compared with other population classes. Thus, among the natives of native parentage 35.6 per cent are under 15 years of age, while the corresponding age group amounts only to 3.9 per cent of the foreign-born white. The percentage of adults in each class is, of course, equally disproportionate, being much larger in the case of the foreign born than in that of the native born of native parentage.

Another aspect of this phenomenon is depicted in Tables 71 and 72. The foreign born constitute a relatively small percentage of the population under 20, but an abnormally large proportion in the adult age periods. For example, it appears from Table 71, that the foreign born are only 1.8 per cent of the white children of this country, but are 19.3 per cent of those in maturity, and 27.8 per cent of those in old age. Again, 22.7 per cent of those of voting age—that is, over 1 in 5—are foreign born.⁵

Still another aspect of this data is derived from the study of the median age of the foreign born.⁶ According to Table 71, the median age for the native white of native parentage is 22.7 years, but, for the foreign born, it is 40 years.

⁴ That there are notable differences in this respect between the various ethnic and nationality groups of immigrants is shown later in this section.

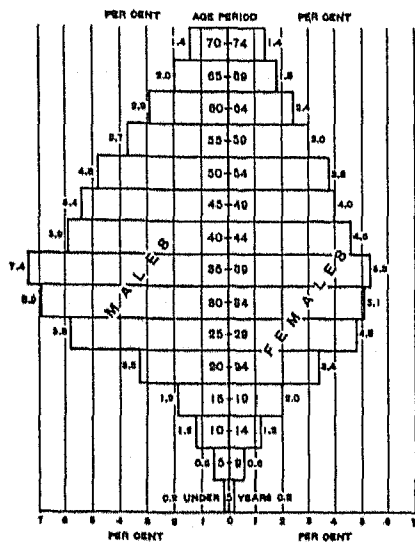
⁵ Many of them are, of course, unnaturalized. Cf. *infra.*, Ch. IX, Table 114, p. 251.

⁶ The median age is that age which divides the population into two equal groups, one-half being older and one-half younger than the median. Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. III, p. 148.

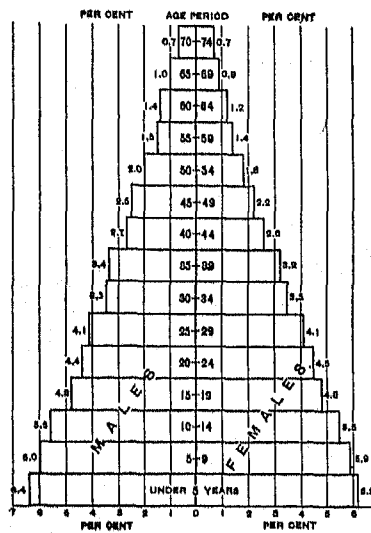
CHART 6.—DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUPS FOR WHITE POPULATION, BY SEX:
1920

[Percentages shown in each diagram based on total population in the group, and not on totals for each sex separately]

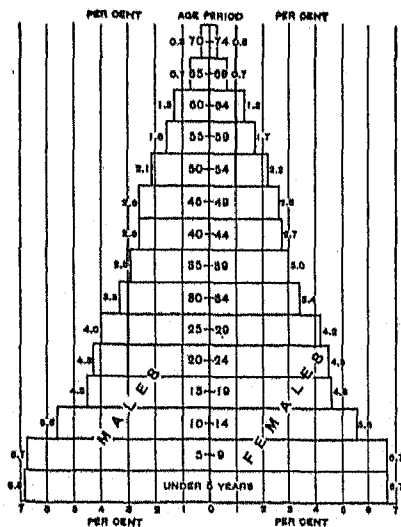
FOREIGN-BORN WHITE



NATIVE WHITE OF NATIVE PARENTAGE



NATIVE WHITE OF FOREIGN PARENTAGE



NATIVE WHITE OF MIXED PARENTAGE

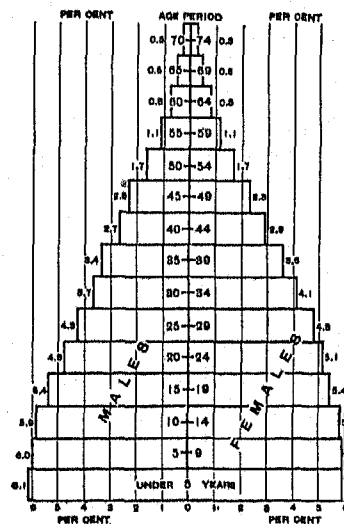


TABLE 71.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND SELECTED AGE GROUPS OF WHITE POPULATION, BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

SEX AND AGE GROUPS	NUMBER				PER CENT DISTRIBUTION			
	White	Native white		Foreign-born white	White	Native white		Foreign-born white
		Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage	
UNITED STATES								
All ages:								
Total.....	94,820,915	53,421,957	22,636,204	13,712,754	100.0	61.6	23.0	14.5
Male.....	48,430,655	29,636,781	11,265,552	7,628,322	100.0	61.2	23.3	15.5
Female.....	46,390,260	23,785,176	11,420,652	6,184,432	100.0	62.1	24.0	13.3
Males to 100 females.....	104.4	103.0	98.6	121.7				
Voting age—21 years and over:								
Total.....	55,113,461	31,007,257	11,607,484	12,498,720	100.0	56.3	21.1	22.7
Male.....	28,442,400	15,805,063	5,708,885	6,928,452	100.0	55.6	20.1	24.4
Female.....	26,671,061	15,202,194	5,898,599	5,570,268	100.0	57.0	22.1	20.9
Major age groups								
Childhood—under 15 years:								
Total.....	20,830,488	20,800,102	8,484,166	540,230	100.0	69.7	28.4	1.8
Male.....	15,095,069	10,544,674	4,274,612	275,783	100.0	69.9	28.3	1.8
Female.....	14,735,419	10,255,428	4,209,544	270,447	100.0	69.6	28.0	1.8
Maturity—15 to 59 years:								
Total.....	57,512,305	33,260,681	13,140,322	11,102,302	100.0	57.8	22.9	10.3
Male.....	29,497,167	16,862,053	6,408,320	6,166,794	100.0	57.2	21.0	20.9
Female.....	28,015,138	16,398,628	6,681,002	4,935,508	100.0	58.5	23.8	17.6
Old age—60 years and over:								
Total.....	7,354,450	4,260,005	1,041,490	2,043,958	100.0	58.0	14.2	27.8
Male.....	3,760,094	2,171,295	510,786	1,072,013	100.0	57.7	13.7	28.5
Female.....	3,594,355	2,087,710	524,710	971,945	100.0	58.4	14.0	27.0
Age of maximum fecundity:								
Males 20 to 50 years.....	21,031,873	12,286,139	4,707,948	4,937,786	100.0	56.0	21.5	22.5
Females 15 to 44 years.....	22,017,601	13,238,620	5,319,489	3,459,492	100.0	60.1	24.2	15.7
Males to 100 females.....	99.6	92.8	88.5	142.7				
Median age:								
Total.....	25.6	22.7	21.6	40.0				
Male.....	26.1	22.8	21.4	40.1				
Female.....	25.1	22.5	21.9	39.9				

An interesting situation is revealed when the age composition of the native born of foreign or mixed parentage is examined. Table 71 gives for this class a median age of 21.6 years, against 25.6 years for the entire white population, 22.7 years for the native white of native parentage, and 40 years for the foreign-born white. Tables 71 and 72 indicate that the children of the immigrant constitute a steadily diminishing percentage of the total white population as they grow older. Thus, they are 28.4 per cent of those under 15 years; 22.9 per cent of those from 15 to 59 years; and 14.2 per cent of those 60 years of age and over. Finally, Table 72 and Chart 6 show that the native born of foreign or mixed parentage contain an abnormally high percentage of children. That is, this nativity group is weakly represented in the adult years, strongly represented in childhood, and, therefore, on the whole, unusually young.

One reason for this phenomenon is not far to seek. Since, up until 1914, immigration was rapidly increasing, there would be, in each year up to 1914, a larger number of potential foreign-born parents of native children than in the preceding year. Therefore, in 1920 the majority of native-born children of immigrants were the offspring of comparatively recent arrivals and were, consequently, relatively young.⁷

TABLE 72.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUPS OF THE WHITE POPULATION, BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

AGE GROUP	BOTH SEXES				MALE				FEMALE			
	White	Native white		Foreign-born white	White	Native white		Foreign-born white	White	Native white		Foreign-born white
		Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage	
All ages.....	100.0	61.6	23.9	14.5	100.0	61.2	23.3	15.5	100.0	62.1	24.0	13.3
Under 5 years.....	100.0	71.0	28.6	0.4	100.0	71.1	28.4	0.4	100.0	70.9	28.7	0.4
5 to 9 years.....	100.0	69.2	29.1	1.7	100.0	69.3	29.0	1.7	100.0	69.0	29.3	1.7
10 to 14 years.....	100.0	68.9	27.6	3.5	100.0	69.0	27.4	3.5	100.0	68.8	27.7	3.5
15 to 19 years.....	100.0	67.3	26.3	6.3	100.0	67.5	26.2	6.3	100.0	67.1	26.4	6.4
20 to 24 years.....	100.0	63.2	25.4	11.3	100.0	63.4	25.3	11.4	100.0	63.1	25.6	11.3
25 to 29 years.....	100.0	58.5	23.0	17.9	100.0	57.8	22.8	19.3	100.0	59.2	24.4	16.4
30 to 34 years.....	100.0	55.8	21.7	22.5	100.0	54.4	20.5	25.1	100.0	57.3	22.9	19.8
35 to 39 years.....	100.0	54.8	20.3	24.9	100.0	53.5	18.9	27.5	100.0	56.2	21.8	22.1
40 to 44 years.....	100.0	53.8	21.3	24.8	100.0	53.0	20.1	26.9	100.0	54.7	22.7	22.6
45 to 49 years.....	100.0	53.1	21.9	25.1	100.0	52.7	20.6	26.8	100.0	53.5	23.4	23.1
50 to 54 years.....	100.0	51.8	21.2	27.0	100.0	51.7	19.9	28.4	100.0	51.9	22.6	25.5
55 years and over.....	100.0	50.2	16.1	27.7	100.0	55.8	15.5	28.6	100.0	50.6	16.8	20.7
Age unknown.....	100.0	74.5	9.1	16.4	100.0	75.0	7.4	17.5	100.0	73.7	11.0	14.4

There may be another explanation, namely, inferior vitality of this foreign stock, for an excessive death rate would keep down the members of adults in any population group. In how far the children of immigrants are shorter lived than the native born of native parentage is discussed in a later chapter. However, it appears that the principal cause of this group's relative youthfulness is the one given above, namely, the recency of immigration of most of the foreign-born parents of native children.

The *interrelationship between age and sex* is significant chiefly at one point, namely, the *age of maximum fecundity*. There is a definite limit upon the rate of increase of any population—the number of men and women, especially of women, within its ranks capable of producing children. Particularly important is the number of women of childbearing age, because, moral considerations to one side, there is practically no limit upon the number of children to which a man may become a parent, but a woman can normally become the

⁷ Cf. Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. III, p. 148.

mother of only about one child per year. Consequently, two factors must be considered in estimating the potential rate of increase of any population strain: First, the proportion of men *and* women at the age of maximum fecundity; second, the proportion of men *to* women at this age. Tables 69 and 71 contain the data relevant to these questions. From Table 73, derived from Table 71, it is seen that, on the whole, the foreign born contain proportionately more persons capable of having children than either of the native-born groups.

TABLE 73.—PER CENT OF MALES AND FEMALES AT AGE OF MAXIMUM FECUNDITY, IN WHITE POPULATION: 1920

CLASS	Males, 20 to 50 years of age	Females, 15 to 44 years of age
Native white of native parentage.....	41.5	45.9
Native white of foreign and mixed parentage.....	41.8	46.4
Foreign-born white.....	65.6	55.9

* From this, it would seem that the foreign born are able to make a much larger contribution to the next generation, relative to their numbers, than are the native born.

Examination of the sex ratios of the nativity classes, however, puts another complexion on the situation. From Table 71 it is seen that, whereas there is, among the natives, an excess of females of childbearing age to males at the age of maximum fecundity, there is, among the foreign born of the same age groups, an excess of males. Remembering what has just been said concerning the absolute limits placed upon a population's increase by its women capable of having children, it appears that the native population is potentially capable, in any year, of producing about as many children as there are, within it, men 20 to 50 years of age, but that the foreign born are able to beget, on the whole, only about three children for every five males of this age within an equal period. In other words, the abnormal number of males among the recent immigrants condemns many of them to childlessness in this country, so far as the availability of potential immigrant mothers of their children is concerned. That is, the apparently great potential birth rate of the foreign born is seriously reduced by their unbalanced sex ratio.

Another possibility at once presents itself, namely, the mating of foreign-born men with native-born women. In this connection, an interesting situation is presented, for Table 71 shows that a *dearth of marriageable males* among the natives is accompanied by an *excess of marriageable males* among the foreign born. There is, therefore, reason to expect the next generation to contain a relatively large number of persons of mixed parentage, the children of native mothers and foreign fathers.

All of the foregoing is concerned merely with *potential* birth rates. It is based on the assumption that a given population will breed up to its capacity and at an equal rate, as based upon its proportion of men and women at the age of maximum fecundity and upon the ratio of the former to the latter. That this assumption departs from the facts in some respects is shown in a subsequent part of this monograph. There are important differences between the birth rates of native born and foreign born, and between that of the native born of native parentage and native born of foreign parentage. Nevertheless, these variations occur within the bounds set by the age and sex ratios noted above.

It is particularly interesting to observe the existence of a strong probability of a mating of native women and foreign men, and so of the commencing, within the generation of the foreigner's migration, of his biological amalgamation with the native stock. That such marrying of natives and foreigners is more than a matter of theoretical probability is suggested by the fact that close to 7,000,000 white persons—6.6 per cent of the country's total population in 1920—are of mixed native and foreign parentage.

Something should be said at this point concerning the social and economic bearing of the foregoing data. Two points are particularly noteworthy. In the first place, the large number of adult foreigners is very impressive. In view of the fact that this country is governed on the basis of adult suffrage, the fact that more than 1 in 5 of all the persons of voting age in the United States are foreign born assumes profound significance. It is obvious that a foreigner, especially one who is unaccustomed to the English language, is seriously handicapped by unfamiliarity with American history, traditions, customs, and political methods, in meeting the responsibilities of citizenship. It is true that only about one-half of the foreign born 21 years of age and over are naturalized,^a but it is also true that, after a waiting period, a large proportion of the remainder may be expected to seek citizenship. One further factor in this connection deserves notice, namely, the proportion of persons of foreign or mixed parentage in the population of voting age. The 11,607,484 native white persons 21 years old and over, one or both of whose parents were born outside this country, compose 21.1 per cent of the white population in that age group. If this group is added to the foreign-born white population of the corresponding age, it is seen that 24,106,204 persons, composing 43.8 per cent of the white population of voting age, are foreign born, or the children of foreign-born parents. The proportion outside the South would be even more striking.

^a Males, 47.8 per cent; females, 52 per cent. Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. VIII, Table 1.

Another noteworthy feature of the data analyzed above is the relation of the age and sex distribution of the foreign population to American industry. The bearing of the age composition of the foreign element upon industry has already been suggested. Industry is provided with abundant labor power, at the age of maximum efficiency. For a long period of years, American employers have had available, not merely the young men and women born upon American soil, but also thousands of workers born and reared abroad, and brought to American mines and factories in the prime of their youth and early maturity. That the existence of this never-failing supply of labor has contributed heavily to the rapid expansion of American industry can not be doubted. Neither can it be denied that there has been a certain loss in economic efficiency because of the fact that the bulk of American immigration in recent years has reached this country when too old to learn anything more of American industrial processes than the requirements for unskilled or semi-skilled labor.

The relationship between industry and the sex ratio of recent immigration is also of interest. On the one hand, the industrial opportunities open to immigrants are such as to discourage the inclusion of many women and children in the immigrant population. The immigrant is often compelled to adopt an exceedingly migratory existence in order to be employed at all continuously. Moreover, he is frequently required to live under conditions in which it is not only socially undesirable but physically impossible for him to be accompanied by wife or children. Railroad construction, lumbering, and much general labor present conditions of this sort. There is a clear contrast between such circumstances and those which the immigrant of a former generation encountered, when he could, with relative ease, take his wife and children into a rural community, and put them to work beside him on tasks not very different from those to which they had been accustomed in "the old country." On the other hand, American industry has undoubtedly reacted to the fact that the majority of immigrants to-day are unencumbered by women or children. This condition provides the employer with a labor force that is highly mobile, and that can be housed and fed in a manner totally unacceptable to men accompanied by their families.⁹

In brief, the conditions under which many immigrants have to earn their living are such that they find it best, at least for a time, to come to this country unaccompanied by women or children; and the fact that they are so unaccompanied encourages the continuation of such conditions. Whether or not, in the first instance, the development of American industry has influenced the sex and age ratio of the "new" immigrants, it is impossible to say. The fact

⁹ Cf. Report of United States Immigration Commission, Washington, 1911, pp. 499, 500.

that many native Americans are deprived of family life by the nature of their employment¹⁰ suggests that this is the case. On the other hand, there is evidence of certain racial differences in this respect which might lead to the opposite conclusion. Probably—as in many features of economic and social activity—both forces, the conditions of employment and the type of family life of the several immigrant groups, have operated simultaneously and reciprocally.

Attention may now be directed to the *second* aspect of the age and sex distribution of the foreign population, namely, its relation to the territorial distribution of the foreign element.

Tables 74, 75, 76, 173, 174, and 175 contain the data bearing on this topic. The material falls into two groups—the first dealing with the United States and geographic divisions, the second with the urban and rural communities and with the different classes of cities. Table 173 sets forth the age and sex distribution of the foreign population in the various geographic divisions of the country and in selected States. It shows one significant fact regarding sex distribution, namely, that the excess of males over females is relatively small near the major ports of entry to this country, and relatively large in regions at a distance from those ports. Thus, in the New England area there are 102.3 foreign-born males to 100 foreign-born females, and in the Middle Atlantic group, there are 114.1 to 100; but in the East North Central region, the ratio rises to 128, in the West North Central, to 131.4, in the East South Central and South Atlantic States, to 141 and 141.6, respectively, while it reaches 148.2 in the Pacific area, and 149.2 in the Mountain States. The excess is somewhat smaller in the West South Central region, there being 131.3 males per 100 females, but this is the region dominated by the Mexican immigrants, and so is only partially affected by the tendency operative throughout the rest of the country. The reason for this varying sex ratio of the foreign born is discussed later in this section.

Examination of the age distribution of the foreign stock according to the geographic divisions of the United States reveals a somewhat confused situation. Table 173 exhibits a marked lack of uniformity as between the several parts of the country. Thus, there is an unusually large percentage of foreign-born children under 15 in the Mountain, Pacific, and West South Central groups, and also in New England and the Middle Atlantic division. In the country as a whole, this class composes a bare 1.8 per cent of the white population of that age, but, in the West South Central States, it is 1.9 per cent, in the Mountain States, 3.1 per cent, in the Pacific States, 3.6 per cent, in New England, 3.5 per cent, and in the Middle Atlantic States, 2.7 per

¹⁰ Cf. Report and Testimony, United States Commission on Industrial Relations, Washington, 1916, Vol. VI, pp. 5087-5108.

cent. Furthermore, in the State of Arizona, it rises to 14.2 per cent. On the other hand, the group of foreign born who are 60 years of age and over, is exceptionally large in the Middle Atlantic, the Pacific, and West North Central States, being 33.9 per cent, 34 per cent, and 34.5 per cent, respectively, of the white population in those areas, as over against 27.8 per cent in the country at large. In the State of Wisconsin, the immigrants of 60 years and more compose 56 per cent of the white population, and, in North Dakota, 68.8 per cent. There does not seem to be such marked variation in the territorial distribution of the middle-aged foreigners.

How can such an irregular distribution of the foreign-born children and old persons be explained? The clue to the former apparently rests upon the assumption that an unusually large number of children must have accompanied the Mexican immigrants, who have been found to be prominent in the Mountain, Pacific, and West South Central States, more especially in Arizona.

As for the immigrants in the "old age" group, their relative importance appears to correspond in a general way to the distribution of the "old" immigration. Thus, Table 31 places the West North Central group as first according to the percentage of foreign-born persons resident in this country 20 years, or more. Although the correlation can not be carried through to the Middle Atlantic Belt, because of the presence there of large numbers of "new" immigrants from central, east, and south Europe, there is a sufficient proportion of these north and west Europeans in that area to raise the average age of the foreign-born group there. In other words, in those regions heavily settled by north and west Europeans, who reached this country in greatest numbers a generation ago, there is among the foreign born an unusually large per cent of old men and women, survivors of this "old" immigration wave.

Tables 74, 75, 76, 174 and 175 deal with the age and sex composition of the foreign element of urban and rural communities and in different classes of cities. The sex ratio may be considered first.

It has been seen above that the preponderance of males over females increases as the foreign population travels away from the seaboard areas where it first reaches America. This set of tables shows, further, that the excess of foreign-born males over females is greater in the rural regions than in the cities and greater in the small than in the large cities. Thus, according to Table 74, there are, in urban areas, 115.9 foreign-born males per 100 foreign-born females, as compared with a ratio of 141.8 per 100 in rural places. Furthermore, in Table 75, a steady increase in the excess of foreign-born males over females is observed, in passing from the larger to the smaller cities. In cities of 500,000 or more the sex ratio among the foreign born is 111.8 males per 100 females, but, in cities of 2,500 to 10,000,

it is 123.4 per 100, and the intermediate classes of cities show gradations in correspondence to these ratios.

TABLE 74.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND SELECTED AGE GROUPS OF WHITE POPULATION, BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR URBAN AND RURAL AREAS: 1920

AREA, SEX, AND AGE GROUP	NUMBER				PER CENT			
	White	Native white		Foreign-born white	White	Native white		Foreign-born white
		Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage	
URBAN								
All ages:								
Total	50,620,084	24,556,720	15,706,372	10,356,983	100.0	48.5	31.0	20.5
Male	25,373,027	12,100,465	7,022,709	5,590,390	100.0	48.0	30.0	21.0
Female	25,246,457	12,306,204	8,083,000	4,790,587	100.0	49.0	32.0	19.0
Males to 100 females	100.5	98.0	94.3	115.0				
Voting age—21 years and over:								
Total	31,526,050	14,233,817	7,851,377	9,430,850	100.0	45.2	24.9	20.9
Male	15,911,600	7,079,930	3,716,277	5,115,293	100.0	44.5	23.4	32.1
Female	15,613,544	7,153,881	4,138,100	4,321,553	100.0	45.8	26.5	27.7
Major age groups								
Childhood—under 15 years:								
Total	14,114,455	7,058,875	6,061,025	394,555	100.0	54.3	42.9	2.8
Male	7,082,204	3,840,327	3,044,210	197,718	100.0	54.2	43.0	2.8
Female	7,032,191	3,818,548	3,016,800	190,837	100.0	54.3	42.9	2.8
Maturity—15 to 50 years:								
Total	32,720,403	15,140,184	8,991,263	8,595,010	100.0	46.3	27.5	26.3
Male	16,474,477	7,618,346	4,277,774	4,678,357	100.0	45.0	26.0	28.4
Female	16,251,980	7,621,838	4,713,489	3,916,650	100.0	46.9	29.0	24.1
Old age—60 years and over:								
Total	3,694,323	1,695,833	646,093	1,352,397	100.0	45.9	17.5	36.0
Male	1,762,697	791,499	296,780	674,412	100.0	44.9	16.8	38.3
Female	1,931,626	904,334	349,307	677,985	100.0	46.8	18.1	35.1
Age of maximum fecundity:								
Males, 20 to 50 years	12,669,360	5,730,093	3,133,460	3,805,798	100.0	45.2	24.7	30.0
Females, 15 to 44 years	12,750,691	6,185,733	3,772,743	2,798,215	100.0	48.5	29.0	21.9
Males to 100 females	99.3	92.0	83.1	130.0				
RURAL								
All ages:								
Total	44,200,831	33,895,228	6,079,832	3,355,771	100.0	76.0	15.8	7.6
Male	23,057,028	17,446,316	3,042,780	1,667,020	100.0	75.7	15.8	8.5
Female	21,143,803	16,418,912	3,337,040	1,387,845	100.0	77.7	15.8	6.6
Males to 100 females	100.0	100.3	100.2	141.8				
Voting age—21 years and over:								
Total	23,688,411	16,773,440	3,753,107	3,001,804	100.0	71.1	18.9	13.0
Male	12,630,894	8,725,127	1,992,008	1,813,150	100.0	69.0	15.9	14.5
Female	11,057,517	8,048,313	1,760,490	1,248,705	100.0	72.8	16.9	11.3
Major age groups								
Childhood—under 15 years:								
Total	15,716,033	13,141,227	2,423,131	151,675	100.0	83.0	15.4	1.0
Male	8,012,895	6,704,347	1,230,393	78,066	100.0	83.7	15.4	1.0
Female	7,703,228	6,436,880	1,192,738	73,610	100.0	83.6	15.5	1.0
Maturity—15 to 50 years:								
Total	24,785,842	18,120,497	4,158,050	2,507,280	100.0	73.1	16.8	10.1
Male	13,022,090	9,343,707	2,190,540	1,488,487	100.0	71.7	16.8	11.4
Female	11,763,152	8,776,790	1,967,513	1,018,849	100.0	74.0	16.7	8.7
Old age—60 years and over:								
Total	8,680,130	2,573,172	395,403	691,561	100.0	70.3	10.8	18.9
Male	1,997,397	1,370,709	220,000	307,601	100.0	69.1	11.0	19.9
Female	1,682,739	1,193,376	175,403	293,960	100.0	71.8	10.5	17.7
Age of maximum fecundity:								
Males, 20 to 50 years	9,202,513	6,556,040	1,574,479	1,131,988	100.0	70.8	17.0	12.2
Females, 15 to 44 years	9,200,910	7,052,887	1,546,746	691,277	100.0	76.2	16.7	7.1
Males to 100 females	100.0	93.0	101.8	171.2				

Table 175 reveals the influence both of the size of the city, and the proximity to the Atlantic seaboard. It shows a generally increasing proportion of foreign-born males to females in passing from the larger cities, such as New York and Chicago, to the smaller ones, such as Denver. It also records very large excesses of foreign-born males over females in places remote from the Atlantic seaboard, such as San Francisco, Seattle, and New Orleans, where the ratios of males per 100 females rise to 144.8, 145.5, and 147.7, respectively. On the other hand, Boston and Philadelphia, which are important ports of entry for immigrants, show a low ratio of foreign-born males to females, there being a positive excess of foreign-born females in Boston.¹¹

TABLE 75.—RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES FOR WHITE POPULATION, IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, AND IN EACH CLASS OF CITIES: 1920

POPULATION CLASS	CLASS OF TERRITORY						
	Rural	Urban	Cities having a population of—				
			2,500 to 10,000	10,000 to 25,000	25,000 to 100,000	100,000 to 500,000	500,000 and over
White (total).....	100.0	100.5	99.9	100.3	100.3	99.9	101.5
Native white of native parent- age.....	100.3	98.6	97.8	98.1	98.5	98.7	99.8
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage.....	100.2	94.3	94.8	94.0	93.7	92.3	95.5
Foreign-born white.....	141.8	115.9	123.4	122.4	117.4	117.6	111.8

At this point, the steady increase in the excess of males over females among the foreign born, as they pass West and South away from the Atlantic seaboard, may be recalled. Apparently there is a tendency on the part of the foreign-born men to leave their women-kind near the major ports of entry and also in the cities—especially the larger cities, where there are colonies for practically every important immigrant group—and to go out alone where economic opportunity takes them into the country and smaller cities. It is likely also that these immigrants who have wives or daughters dependent upon them tend to cling to the larger cities, leaving the positions available in the rural regions and smaller cities to those who are unmarried, or whose wives are in “the old country.”

In this connection, there are two contrasts with the native population. In the first place, according to Table 75, the native population parallels the foreign in having a larger proportion of females in urban than in rural localities. The difference in the sex ratio between urban and rural areas is, however, much greater in the case of the foreign born than the native.

¹¹ A high percentage of females among the Irish born is partly responsible for the situation in Boston.

It seems that the slight excess of native females over males in the cities, as compared with a moderate excess of males over females in the country, is due to the fact that native women find it easy to obtain employment in the stores, offices, and factories of the cities, and so are participating in the nation-wide exodus from country to city in even larger proportion than the men, some of whom must remain in the country for agricultural pursuits.¹² However, reference to the native sex ratios in the different classes of cities suggests that the native women do not venture into the large cities in such large numbers as the men. Thus, in cities of 500,000 and over, the native males of native parentage have all but overcome the lead assumed by the females in cities as a whole.¹³

The reason for the greater discrepancy between males and females among the foreign born than among the native in urban and rural areas is not far to seek. The city is the primary point of dispersion for the foreign born, whereas a considerable portion of the native population is country born. Hence, a cityward drift on the part of the native males and females leaves a sufficient number of females in the country to keep down to moderate figures the excess of males in rural communities. On the other hand, there being few foreign-born females whose original settlement is in the country¹⁴ the movement of foreign males away from large cities into the rural districts and small cities creates a very large excess of males in the latter.

The other contrast has just been mentioned. The native born show a higher proportion of males to females in the large cities than in the small ones, whereas an opposite tendency has been observed for the foreign born. Thus, in Table 75, it appears that among the native white of native parents there are 97.8 males per 100 females in the smallest cities, and 99.8 in the largest, with corresponding gradations between. Much the same is true of the native born of foreign or mixed parentage, although the progression from small to large cities is not so regular.¹⁵ It seems that the native men tend to leave their women in the smaller towns and go to seek their fortunes in the large cities, while just the opposite is the case with the foreign born.

This contrast provides an interesting commentary upon the question of the alleged preference for city life on the part of the "new" immigrant. In so far as these tables represent the "new" immigrant, they suggest that he is moving out from the great cities into the

¹² Ravenstein finds the English females to be, likewise, more prone than the males to migrate from rural to urban districts. Ravenstein, *op. cit.* Statistical Journal, Vol. XLVIII., pp. 196-198. (London, 1885.)

¹³ Cf. Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. II, p. 105.

¹⁴ Very few in the present generation, excepting Canadians and Mexicans.

¹⁵ The uneven age distribution of this population class is probably responsible for this irregularity.

country and smaller cities. It should be noted that the word "suggest" is used in this connection, for there is nothing conclusive in the data. They may merely indicate a temporary migration into the less densely populated centers, or, as indicated above, a differentiation between single and married men. At the very least, however, this set of data reveals a tendency on the part of certain immigrants to get away, either permanently or temporarily, from the densely populated urban areas, and an opposite tendency on the part of the natives.

There are two features of interest concerning the *age distribution* of the foreign born in urban and rural districts. The first is the larger proportion of old people among the foreign born of the rural districts and smaller cities than in the urban areas and large cities. The second is the very high percentage of foreign born and their children among the actual and potential voting population of the larger cities.

From Table 76 it appears that, of the foreign born in urban areas, 13.1 per cent are 60 years of age and over, while, in the rural areas this group is 20.6 per cent of the total.

TABLE 76.—PER CENT OF PERSONS 60 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER AMONG THE WHITE POPULATION, IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, AND IN EACH CLASS OF CITIES: 1920

[Derived from Tables 74 and 174]

POPULATION CLASS	CLASS OF TERRITORY					
	Rural	Urban	Cities having a population of—			
			2,500 to 25,000	25,000 to 100,000	100,000 to 250,000	250,000 and over
Native white of native parentage.....	7.6	6.9	8.0	7.0	5.4	5.5
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage.....	5.7	4.1	5.3	4.4	3.0	3.5
Foreign-born white.....	20.6	13.1	16.0	13.2	13.1	11.9

Similarly, the older generation of foreign born is of greater relative significance in the smaller than in the larger cities. According to Table 76 the percentage of persons 60 years of age and over among the foreign born varies inversely with the size of the cities of the country. Table 175, which shows the median age of the population classes in the 25 principal cities of the country, reflects a similar, though not such a clear-cut relation, between the age of the foreign born and the size of the cities in which they dwell. This tendency corresponds with that discovered in connection with the year of migration of the foreign-born population, in that it suggests a concentration of those longest resident in this country in the rural districts and smaller cities.¹⁶

¹⁶ Cf. *supra*, Ch. IV, Tables 33 and 34, pp. 50 and 56.

The phenomena revealed by these two sets of data are the resultant of two factors. On the one hand, they are the consequence of the relatively greater urbanization of the "new" immigrants than of the "old." On the other hand, they result from the tendency on the part of the foreign born, after a waiting period in the larger cities, to move away from them into the smaller cities and into the country districts. In other words, one reason why the immigrants in the larger cities are, on the whole, younger than those in the smaller cities and rural communities is that the latter are constantly being recruited by persons who have been in the United States for some time, at the same time that the former are continuously receiving fresh increments of youths and early middle-aged arrivals from abroad.

It might be objected that the high age level of the foreign born in small cities and in the country was caused only by the presence therein of "old" or north and west European immigrants. But, as has been seen above and as is further demonstrated later,¹⁷ this disposition to settle, first in the city, and later in the rural or semirural community, is by no means confined to the "old" immigrant stock.

The second noteworthy feature of the age distribution of the foreign born in urban and rural areas relates to the relative number of potential foreign-born voters in each type of territory. It has been seen that the number of children among the immigrant population is, excepting in the Southwest, relatively slight, and that the bulk of the foreign born are in maturity or old age. It has been further seen that a very high percentage of them are of voting age. Again, attention has been called earlier in this monograph to the concentration of the foreign born in cities, especially in large cities. From this it follows that a very significant proportion of the voting population in American cities, more particularly the larger cities, is foreign born. Table 74 and Table 174 show this to be the case. In the urban communities, 29.9 per cent of all the white population of voting age is foreign born. The percentage is even higher in the large cities, being 39.3 per cent in cities of 250,000 and over. When the figures for the native born of foreign or mixed parentage are added, the results are remarkable. In the total for all cities, 54.8 per cent of the white population of voting age is composed of immigrants and their children, and, in the cities of 250,000 or over, this foreign element comes to 68.4 per cent. In other words, in the 25 principal cities of this country,¹⁸ nearly 7 in every 10 white persons of voting age are of foreign birth or parentage. Little need be said concerning the bearing of this fact upon the political and social problems of the Nation. It suffices to say that the great American municipalities are wrestling with questions such

¹⁷ Cf. Tables 77, 78 and 79.

¹⁸ The first 25 cities are those whose population is 250,000 or over. The last in the list is Denver.

as would tax the capacity of the best equipped electorate, and they are facing these tasks with a population of potential voters, a large majority of whom are equipped for citizenship only by what they have acquired after migrating here from abroad, or by such assimilative opportunities as are open to the child of an immigrant.

A word may be said about the age and sex ratio around the age of maximum fecundity of the foreign born, in urban and rural areas, and in different classes of cities. It has already been shown that there is a large excess of males over females of this class in rural areas. From Table 74 it is seen that this excess is particularly heavy at the child-producing age, for that is the age period at which most of the immigrant men seem to leave the cities for the country. In rural areas, there are 171.2 foreign-born men of the ages 20 to 50, for every 100 foreign-born women of the ages 15 to 44. The same table indicates a deficit of marriageable males to females among the native born of native parentage in rural areas. Consequently, the situation stated above, with reference to the total population, is exaggerated in rural areas. In the very sections where there is an insufficient number of native males of native parentage of appropriate age to mate with the marriageable native women of native parentage, there is an overwhelming excess of foreign-born men over foreign-born women at the marrying ages. In other words, in the rural sections of the country, only strong social and religious prejudice can prevent a very widespread mixing of native and foreign stocks, through the mating of native women with foreign men. There can be no doubt but that these opposing forces prevent such matings from occurring with anything like the frequency which the statistics would suggest to be likely, but, as shown in another chapter,¹⁹ there are nevertheless many such matings.

2. AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF SELECTED NATIVITY AND MOTHER TONGUE GROUPS OF THE FOREIGN BORN

Since the data upon which this portion of the study is based cover only a limited number of nationality and mother tongue groups, and only certain portions of the country, it seems best not to push the analysis beyond the broader classifications, as a more detailed interpretation might lead to generalizations resting only on local peculiarities or unrepresentative sampling.

The discussion may be addressed to three topics: *First*, the sex ratio in the various ethnic groups; *second*, their age composition; and *third*, the urban and rural age and sex composition of selected groups. Tables 77 to 79 and 176 to 179 contain the statistics relevant to these questions.

¹⁹ Cf. *infra*, Ch. VIII, Table 90, p. 212.

TABLE 77.—RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES BY MAJOR AGE PERIODS FOR SELECTED GROUPS OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION IN CERTAIN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS: 1920

[Derived from Table 170]

AREA AND AGE PERIOD	Total	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE						
		England, Scotland, and Wales (English and Celtic)	Ireland (English and Celtic)	Canada (English and Celtic)	Canada (French)	Sweden (Swedish)	Norway (Norwegian)	Denmark (Danish)
ALL SELECTED AREAS								
All ages.....	108.8	105.9	73.8	87.2	104.2	107.4	119.5	147.6
Childhood—under 15 years.....	101.7	100.2	99.1	99.9	96.6	102.2	102.6	97.8
Maturity—15 to 50 years.....	110.5	107.1	74.0	86.2	101.8	107.9	123.0	151.1
Old age—60 years and over.....	100.2	101.8	72.1	88.0	116.5	104.6	109.6	138.6
Age of maximum fecundity ¹	119.7	114.5	86.6	96.1	108.8	128.0	139.7	180.5
URBAN								
All ages.....	106.0	103.5	72.9	82.0	98.6	96.2	106.2	143.5
Childhood—under 15 years.....	100.0	100.0	98.3	98.9	97.4	101.0	103.0	90.0
Maturity—15 to 50 years.....	108.0	104.8	73.4	82.0	98.2	97.3	108.7	147.1
Old age—60 years and over.....	93.8	97.9	70.1	75.9	100.4	89.1	91.6	132.9
Age of maximum fecundity ¹	116.8	112.0	86.0	91.7	105.6	115.8	119.6	173.7
RURAL								
All ages.....	128.0	133.0	114.2	122.2	147.2	154.8	128.5	152.8
Childhood—under 15 years.....	105.3	102.6	(²)	106.2	(²)	100.2	102.1	111.5
Maturity—15 to 50 years.....	132.0	141.0	121.1	119.7	134.7	158.6	134.7	167.0
Old age—60 years and over.....	121.2	122.3	106.8	131.9	175.1	144.3	115.3	143.2
Age of maximum fecundity ¹	149.7	155.2	146.4	140.4	147.9	195.1	161.0	192.3

AREA AND AGE PERIOD	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE—continued				MOTHER TONGUE—ALL COUNTRIES			
	Russia (Russian)	Bohemia and Moravia (Czech)	Mexico (Spanish)	Italy (Italian)	German	Polish	Slovak	Yiddish
ALL SELECTED AREAS								
All ages.....	128.5	97.8	124.4	127.6	108.2	126.4	122.8	107.6
Childhood—under 15 years.....	99.3	102.0	105.9	103.8	98.6	101.7	98.5	101.0
Maturity—15 to 50 years.....	130.8	99.9	131.2	130.4	110.4	127.8	123.8	107.8
Old age—60 years and over.....	110.0	87.0	104.9	116.3	102.8	120.8	120.0	109.4
Age of maximum fecundity ¹	134.5	113.7	124.0	133.9	133.4	133.2	125.6	107.1
URBAN								
All ages.....	126.9	94.8	214.4	126.8	104.5	125.0	118.5	107.5
Childhood—under 15 years.....	99.4	100.3	110.0	103.8	93.9	101.4	98.6	101.2
Maturity—15 to 50 years.....	129.0	97.4	242.6	129.4	107.4	126.4	119.4	107.7
Old age—60 years and over.....	108.5	78.0	(²)	114.8	95.8	117.5	115.1	109.3
Age of maximum fecundity ¹	132.6	110.1	236.8	132.8	130.8	131.1	121.2	107.0
RURAL								
All ages.....	163.4	114.1	119.9	201.3	119.1	143.3	154.4	120.8
Childhood—under 15 years.....	98.0	109.7	105.7	102.7	107.4	104.6	98.3	81.8
Maturity—15 to 50 years.....	170.5	116.7	125.2	210.8	120.1	147.4	157.3	122.9
Old age—60 years and over.....	138.9	108.4	104.3	176.8	117.8	133.3	(²)	135.5
Age of maximum fecundity ¹	177.5	142.0	117.8	219.4	142.2	168.6	159.1	119.1

¹ Males 20 to 40 years; females 15 to 44 years. (See explanation, p. 158.)² Ratio not shown, number of females being less than 100.

The *first* of this group of topics—that is, the sex ratio of these ethnic groups—leads to a conclusion which has already been foreshadowed. It is that the “new” immigrants display a much greater excess of males over females than do the “old.” Thus, it appears from Table 77 that the north and west Europeans clearly include a relatively larger number of females than the central, east, and south. The average number of males per 100 females for the former is 110.4, while, for the latter, it comes to 118.4.²⁰

It might be objected that the “new” immigrants are, for the most part, comparatively recent arrivals, and have not had time to establish homes for their womenkind, and reference to the sex ratio in recent immigration gives color to this contention, since the excess of males in the annual immigration is much greater than that manifested by the foreign population as a whole.²¹ Nevertheless, this claim has only partial validity, for there is virtually the same distinction between “old” and “new” immigrants at the age of 60 or over, as there is for all ages. Thus, it appears from Table 77, that the average number of males per 100 females is 104.9 for the six “old” immigrant groups represented, and 110.4 for the six “new” ones at these ages. That is, at the age when they would certainly have brought their wives and daughters to America, if they ever were going to do so, the English, Irish, Swedish, Norwegian, Danes, and Germans, together show a markedly higher ratio of women to men than the Russians, Bohemians and Moravians, Italians, Poles, Slovaks, and Yiddish.

A definite difference between “old” and “new” immigrant stocks is manifested here. Whether, however, it is to be ascribed chiefly to racial idiosyncrasies or to industrial conditions is, as stated elsewhere, impossible to say.

That there are important differences between the various ethnic groups *within* both the “old” and “new” immigration, however, can not be gainsaid. It appears from Table 77 that the number of males to 100 females ranges from 73.8 to 147.6 for the north and west European groups, and from 97.8 to 128.5 for the central, south, and eastern Europeans. Among the first, the Irish reveal a distinct excess of females over males, and the Danes a very large excess of males over females, in fact the largest in the entire series. Among the “new” immigrant groups, the Bohemians and Moravians display a slight excess of females over males—in this, as in many other respects, being out of line with other central, eastern, and southern European peoples—while the Russians²² show the greatest surplus

²⁰ It should be noted that each of these is an average based upon ratios and is valuable only for comparative purposes.

²¹ Cf. *supra*, Table 69.

²² Russian-speaking, and probably, therefore, largely, but not exclusively, Slavic.

of males over females in the series. It is difficult to account for these differences, excepting in the case of the Irish, among whom so many women enter the field of domestic service that they probably constitute a separate stream of migration, independent of the males.²³

Passing reference may be made to the three American immigrant groups included in Table 77. Two of them—the French and English Canadians—show a relatively large number of females in proportion to males. The opposite is the case with the Mexicans. It would seem that the tendency of the Canadians to come directly across the national boundary line, at points not far removed from their original homes, would make it easy for them to travel—like the “Barbarians” of the great *Völkerwanderung*—in family groups, and hence would make possible the high rate of females to males that the figures display. Yet the same reasoning would lead one to look for a similar situation among the Mexicans, and Table 173, which shows the excess of foreign-born males over females to be unusually low in the West South Central section, where the Mexicans are prominent, suggests, indeed, that such is the case. Yet, Table 77 points to a contrary situation. It is likely that, on the one hand, the data in Table 77 are not completely representative for the Mexicans as a whole, and that, on the other hand, the abnormal age distribution among them, which is noted immediately below, upsets any *a priori* reasoning concerning their sex ratio.

The second topic to be discussed here is the age distribution of the various nationality and mother tongue groups among the foreign born. The age composition of the Mexicans is the most noteworthy feature that is shown in Tables 78, 79, and 176. It is true that there are differences between “old” and “new” immigrants, but these are such as would be expected. Table 79, which shows the approximate modal²⁴ age for the various ethnic stocks represented, indicates that the “old” immigrant stocks are generally made up of older people than the “new.” Conversely, the “new” immigrants, as a class, appear to contain a higher percentage of children and persons in middle age than the “old.”

The only exception is furnished by the Bohemians and Moravians,²⁵ who rank, in this distribution, with the “old” north and west Europeans. Yet, this also is what previous portions of the monograph

²³ About 40 per cent of all the foreign-born females engaged in domestic service. Cf. *infra*, Ch. X, Table 132. It seems that the Irish immigration to this country would have shrunk even faster than it has were it not for the large number of Irish women who have come to seek positions in domestic service.

²⁴ The mode represents the point of greatest concentration in any statistical series. In a frequency curve the mode occurs at the “peak” or “crest” of the curve.

²⁵ Or Czechs.

would lead one to expect, for the Bohemian, or Czech, immigration appears in many ways to be essentially similar to the "old" north and west European immigration, despite the fact that it comes from the heart of the area in which the "new" immigration originates, and thus provides an outstanding illustration of the ambiguities that attend the attempt to differentiate, in any but the most general way, the northwest Europeans from the central, southern, and eastern Europeans.

TABLE 78.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY MAJOR AGE PERIODS FOR SELECTED GROUPS OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, BY SEX, IN CERTAIN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS: 1920

[Derived from Table 170]

AREA, AGE, AND SEX	Total	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE						
		Eng-land, Scot-land, and Wales (Eng-lish and Celtic)	Ireland (Eng-lish and Celtic)	Canada (Eng-lish and Celtic)	Canada (French)	Sweden (Swed-ish)	Norway (Norwe-gian)	Den-mark (Dan-ish)
ALL SELECTED AREAS								
Both sexes, all ages.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years.....	3.6	4.1	0.7	5.3	4.5	1.2	1.4	1.9
Maturity—15 to 59 years....	83.0	78.4	80.8	79.4	76.8	83.6	76.5	79.6
Old age—60 years and over....	13.3	17.4	18.3	15.2	18.7	15.2	22.9	18.4
Males, all ages.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years.....	3.5	4.0	0.8	5.7	4.3	1.1	1.3	1.6
Maturity—15 to 59 years....	83.6	78.8	81.0	79.0	75.9	83.7	76.5	80.3
Old age—60 years and over....	12.7	17.1	18.1	15.2	19.7	15.0	22.0	17.9
Females, all ages.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years.....	3.7	4.2	0.6	4.9	4.6	1.2	1.5	2.4
Maturity—15 to 59 years....	82.3	77.9	80.8	79.8	77.7	83.4	74.3	78.4
Old age—60 years and over....	13.8	17.8	18.5	15.1	17.6	15.4	24.0	19.1
URBAN								
Both sexes, all ages.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years.....	3.4	4.2	0.7	5.4	5.0	1.2	2.2	2.1
Maturity—15 to 59 years....	85.0	79.9	81.6	81.4	79.2	85.6	84.3	83.4
Old age—60 years and over....	11.4	15.8	17.6	13.2	15.8	13.2	13.4	14.3
Males, all ages.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years.....	3.4	4.2	0.8	5.9	5.0	1.2	2.2	1.7
Maturity—15 to 59 years....	85.7	80.4	81.9	81.4	79.1	86.0	85.3	84.3
Old age—60 years and over....	10.8	15.3	17.1	12.6	15.9	12.7	12.4	13.9
Females, all ages.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years.....	3.5	4.3	0.6	4.9	5.0	1.1	2.2	2.7
Maturity—15 to 59 years....	84.2	79.4	81.4	81.4	79.3	85.1	83.3	82.2
Old age—60 years and over....	12.2	16.2	17.8	13.6	15.6	13.7	14.4	15.0
RURAL								
Both sexes, all ages.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years.....	4.6	2.8	0.4	4.9	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.7
Maturity—15 to 59 years....	70.4	63.1	61.2	68.6	62.1	77.0	70.2	74.7
Old age—60 years and over....	24.8	34.0	48.1	26.4	36.7	21.7	28.7	23.5
Males, all ages.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years.....	4.2	2.5	0.5	4.5	0.8	1.0	0.9	1.5
Maturity—15 to 59 years....	71.4	64.7	62.6	68.0	69.9	77.7	71.6	75.5
Old age—60 years and over....	24.2	32.7	46.6	27.3	39.2	21.1	27.3	22.9
Females, all ages.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years.....	5.1	3.2	0.4	5.2	1.6	1.5	1.1	2.0
Maturity—15 to 59 years....	69.2	61.0	49.6	69.4	65.4	75.8	68.3	73.5
Old age—60 years and over....	25.6	35.6	49.8	25.3	33.0	22.6	30.4	24.4

TABLE 78.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY MAJOR AGE PERIODS FOR SELECTED GROUPS OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, BY SEX, IN CERTAIN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS: 1920—Continued

AREA, AGE, AND SEX	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE—continued				MOTHER TONGUE—ALL COUNTRIES			
	Russia (Russian)	Bohemia and Moravia (Czech)	Mexico (Spanish)	Italy (Italian)	German	Polish	Slovak	Yiddish
ALL SELECTED AREAS								
Both sexes, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years	3.6	2.3	21.2	5.5	1.0	3.3	3.6	4.6
Maturity—15 to 59 years	91.3	81.6	74.2	87.4	73.4	90.3	93.2	89.3
Old age—60 years and over	5.0	16.0	4.3	6.7	24.8	6.3	3.0	6.0
Males, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years	3.2	2.4	19.7	5.9	1.6	3.0	3.3	4.4
Maturity—15 to 59 years	92.1	82.5	76.0	88.3	74.1	90.7	93.5	89.4
Old age—60 years and over	4.6	15.0	4.0	6.4	24.2	6.2	2.9	6.1
Females, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years	4.1	2.3	23.1	6.2	1.7	3.7	4.1	4.7
Maturity—15 to 59 years	90.4	80.7	72.1	86.4	72.7	89.7	92.8	89.2
Old age—60 years and over	5.4	16.0	4.7	7.1	25.5	6.5	3.0	6.0
URBAN								
Both sexes, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years	3.4	2.3	13.3	5.5	1.4	3.3	3.4	4.6
Maturity—15 to 59 years	91.5	81.3	81.5	87.4	76.0	91.2	93.7	89.3
Old age—60 years and over	4.0	13.4	1.7	6.8	22.4	5.4	2.8	6.0
Males, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years	3.1	2.3	10.2	5.0	1.4	3.0	3.1	4.4
Maturity—15 to 59 years	92.2	85.5	87.8	88.2	77.1	91.7	94.0	89.4
Old age—60 years and over	4.6	12.1	1.4	6.5	21.5	5.2	2.8	6.1
Females, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years	3.9	2.2	19.0	6.1	1.5	3.7	3.8	4.7
Maturity—15 to 59 years	90.7	83.2	77.6	86.4	75.0	90.7	93.3	89.2
Old age—60 years and over	5.4	14.5	2.4	7.1	23.4	5.5	2.9	6.0
RURAL								
Both sexes, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years	6.0	2.6	21.7	5.4	2.2	3.3	5.0	5.7
Maturity—15 to 59 years	88.2	68.5	73.5	89.0	66.3	70.7	90.3	88.1
Old age—60 years and over	5.6	28.8	4.5	4.0	31.4	16.8	4.0	6.0
Males, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years	4.8	2.6	20.5	4.1	2.1	2.9	4.1	4.7
Maturity—15 to 59 years	89.0	69.2	75.0	91.0	66.0	80.6	91.0	88.8
Old age—60 years and over	5.3	28.1	4.2	4.4	31.2	16.3	3.9	6.3
Females, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Childhood—under 15 years	8.0	2.7	23.2	8.0	2.3	3.9	6.5	7.0
Maturity—15 to 59 years	85.8	67.6	71.8	80.8	66.0	75.4	89.3	87.3
Old age—60 years and over	6.2	29.6	4.8	5.0	31.6	17.5	4.2	5.6

The Mexicans, however, appear to be unique among all the immigrant groups included in this set of tables, in that they contain an unusually large number of young persons. Thus, Table 79 shows them to be the only ethnic element in the series, with a modal age group as low as 20-24 years. Moreover, Table 78 indicates that, whereas children amount to only 3.6 per cent of the 3,706,190 foreign

born represented,²⁶ and come to as little as 0.7 per cent of the Irish, they constitute 21.2 per cent of the Mexicans. In other words, among the foreign born as a whole, less than 4 in 100 are under 15 years of age; but among the Mexicans, slightly over 1 in 5 are in this age group. Reference to Table 178, moreover, reveals the existence of an abnormally high percentage of children in the region most heavily occupied by the Mexicans; so there seems to be little doubt concerning the representativeness of the data in this particular. For some reason, which must remain unexplained so far as this monograph goes, the Mexicans bring with them into this country a proportion of children much higher than does any other immigrant group. It may be suggested that the causative factors behind this phenomenon are probably related, first, to the proximity to the original points of departure of the places in which the Mexicans are most heavily settled, and, second, to the widespread rural settlement of this element.²⁷

TABLE 79.—MODAL AGE GROUP OF SELECTED RACIAL AND NATIONAL STOCKS IN CERTAIN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS: 1920

RACIAL AND NATIONAL STOCK	Age group	Per cent in age group	RACIAL AND NATIONAL STOCK	Age group	Per cent in age group
German.....	60 and over...	24.8	Swedish.....	60 and over...	15.2
Norwegian.....	60 and over...	22.9	Slovak.....	30 to 34.....	10.6
French-Canadian.....	60 and over...	18.7	Italian.....	30 to 34.....	15.6
Danish.....	60 and over...	18.4	Polish.....	25 to 29.....	18.2
Irish.....	60 and over...	18.3	Russian.....	25 to 29.....	10.0
English.....	60 and over...	17.4	Yiddish.....	25 to 29.....	14.1
Bohemian and Moravian.....	60 and over...	16.0	Mexican.....	20 to 24.....	18.8
English-Canadian.....	60 and over...	15.2			

Attention may now be directed to the *third* feature of the age and sex composition of the ethnic groups among the foreign born, namely, their age and sex in urban and rural communities. Tables 78, 177, and 178 bring out one significant fact, which is that *both* "old" and "new" immigrants show a heavier concentration of elderly people in rural than in urban areas. Table 78, in particular, exhibits a higher percentage of old people in the rural than in the urban population of each of the six "old" immigrant stocks, and in four of the six "new" ones; furthermore, the average percentage of elderly persons is higher for all six "new" as well as all six "old" groups. The "old" immigrant stocks contain on the average 16.1 per cent old persons in their urban population and 31.2 per cent in their rural population, while the corresponding proportions for the "new" immigrant groups are, respectively, 6.6 per cent and 11 per cent.

²⁶ According to Table 71, they make up only 4 per cent of the foreign-born white population of the country as a whole.

²⁷ Of course, there may be suggested the possibility of an abnormally high birth rate among the Mexicans in Mexico, but inquiries into this phase of the question are beyond the limits of this monograph.

It may be added that here, as elsewhere, there are wide individual variations. A heavy majority of the elderly Irish and Yiddish men and women are found still in the cities, furnishing additional evidence of the penchant for city life ascribed to them earlier in this study. Conversely, the Norwegians and Danes show a large majority of old persons in the rural regions. In other words, it is among separate ethnic groups, not groups of groups that one finds significant differences.

The question of the representativeness of the data here under consideration may, of course, be raised. And such an objection might be applied with particular force at this point, because, in order to make the comparisons used here, the data are split up to a point where the actual numbers involved are too small for extended statistical analysis. Moreover, it must be noted that the distinction between urban and rural districts on which these tables are based is not so clear-cut as it should be. Nevertheless, it may also be pointed out that the tendency to which attention has been called, namely, a disposition of the older immigrants in both "new" and "old" groups to move out of the cities into the country, is supported by the analysis in other portions of the monograph, based on far more comprehensive data than are presented here.²⁸

SUMMARY

This chapter concludes the examination of what are in many respects the basic facts underlying the immigrant problem; that is, the composition of the foreign stock according to length of residence in the United States, national and racial make-up, and age and sex distribution.

Many important tendencies have been established—some of them not altogether in accord with certain widely held opinions.

Concerning European and western Asiatic immigration, it has been found: (1) That a fairly clear line of demarcation may be drawn between the "old" north and west European immigration, which reached its peak about 1880, and the "new" central, south, and east European and western Asiatic immigration, which increased steadily and rapidly from about 1880 to 1914; (2) that the Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians lead the "old" immigration, and the Italians, Russians (largely Hebrews), and Poles predominate among the "new," the Germans being still the largest surviving foreign-

²⁸ It should be observed that Table 170 shows that among the elderly people in both "old" and "new" immigration, the proportion of urban dwellers is greater than that of rural dwellers, although much more so in the case of the "new" than the "old." For the six "old" immigrant groups the percentage of rural dwellers in the age group 60 years and over is 31.2. For the "new," it is 8.1.

born element; (3) that there have nevertheless been important variations within both "old" and "new" immigrant groups, in that certain of the former continued increasing their numbers long after the "old" immigration as a whole was declining, and in that certain of the latter, notably the Bohemians, began reaching this country in large numbers long before the great body of the "new" immigration had got into motion; (4) that the foreign born are, in general, concentrated in cities, especially large cities, rather than in the country districts, and in industry rather than in agriculture; (5) that economic motivation is apparently an important factor in inducing immigration, as it probably always has been, but that non-economic forces are not at all wanting among the "new" immigrants, there being an abnormally heavy migration of those peoples who have suffered from religious, racial, and political oppression; (6) that the leading factors in the distribution of immigration through the country appear to be (a) proximity to primary ports of entry, (b) ethnic cohesion, and (c) economic opportunity, which took the form of cheap and easily accessible farm land a generation ago, but which appears to-day chiefly as the demand for unskilled labor in factories, mines, and construction work; (7) that, as a consequence, the foreign born in general are concentrated in the North, where negro labor does not compete with it, and particularly along the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards; (8) that the "old" immigration is prominent in the northern Mississippi Valley, where cheap land was plentiful until two or three decades ago; (9) that certain groups, such as the Irish and Hebrews, appear to prefer city to country life; (10) that the apparent preference of the "new" immigration as a whole for city life is probably due mainly to (a) the cityward drift in the country as a whole, to (b) the recent change in the economic opportunities available to immigrants, and to (c) the temporary settlement of immigrants in cities, especially in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and East North Central States, where the more recent immigrants are heavily settled; (11) that there are, furthermore, signs of a countryward movement on the part of the "new" central, south, and eastern European immigrants, as is shown by the settlement of relatively recently arrived foreigners in the rural districts of the Middle Atlantic and New England areas, and by the suggestion which the age and sex statistics furnish of a city-to-country, and a large-city-to-small-city drift among these immigrants; (12) that the immigrants are, as a class, composed chiefly of the active-age groups, containing very few children and old people; (13) that they exhibit a large excess of males over females, and that, despite important variations within each group, the "new" immigrant stocks appear to show this tendency more strongly than the "old," whether,

however, from ethnic difference or economic pressure, it can not be said; (14) that the excess of foreign-born males over females is especially marked at the age of maximum fecundity, and in the small cities and rural regions, whereas the native stock shows an excess of females over males, so that interbreeding between foreign-born males and native-born females, particularly in the smaller cities and rural regions, is to be anticipated; (15) that, finally, the factors just outlined, together with others brought out in the detailed analysis that has occupied the last three chapters, point, on the one hand, to substantial similarities between "old" and "new" immigrant stocks, and, on the other hand, to important variations within both the "old" and "new" immigrant groups, so that it seems more suitable to utilize the distinction implied in these familiar terms rather as a summary expression for general territorial and chronological differences, than as a uniform and universal line of cleavage in respect of ethnic, economic, or other characteristics—in sum, *that individual ethnic and national groups, rather than more or less fortuitous and arbitrary groups of groups provide the most satisfactory units by which ethnic characteristics may be studied.*

Concerning American immigration it has been found: (1) That Canadians and Mexicans are coming across our borders in large numbers, the latter showing a heavy increase in recent years; (2) that they are concentrated near the boundaries across which they have come, and dominate, numerically, the foreign element, if not the entire population, at the points of their heaviest settlement; and (3) that the Mexicans are peculiar in being distributed largely in rural regions and in bringing with them an unusually large number of children.

Finally, concerning negro immigration, it has been found: (1) That there has been a marked resurgence in negro migration to this country; (2) that it originates, not in Africa, but chiefly in the West Indies and the Atlantic Islands; (3) that it is concentrated in certain points along the Atlantic seaboard; and (4) that it is likely to continue and therefore further to complicate the race problems of this country.